

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Lucas van Leyden
and Other Dutch
Masters of His Time

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

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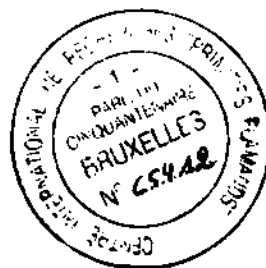
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MCMLXXIII

A. W. SIJTHOFF, LEYDEN

LA CONNAISSANCE, BRUSSELS

Max J. Friedländer



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Other Dutch Masters of His Time

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Foreword

I turn northwards once again in this volume, in order to gain a clear picture of the output in paintings that sprang from the region between Delft and Alkmaar in the first three decades of the 16th century. Here the iconoclasts laid about them savagely. The store of surviving monuments is comparatively small; altarpieces in their original locations are missing. The great bulk of the paintings from which we draw a general view that is doubtless quite incomplete have turned up here and there, for the most part beyond the country of their origin. They lack documentary authentication and signature, and fallible stylistic analysis has its work cut out for it.

The Dutch, in retrospect, nurture the idea that Holland was born in the 16th century. They have every right to take pride in the liberation of their country and the creation of an autonomous democratic state; and in their eyes Dutch art is the great school of painting that blossomed forth in the 17th century in consequence of Holland's great political and economic achievements.

The County of Holland, comprising but part of the present-day country, is very ancient and was joined with Flanders and Brabant only by the accident of dynastic connections. Hence the period of Burgundy-Habsburg rule may be regarded as merely an episode that lends encouragement to tracing the life of the Dutch people deep into the middle ages, ignoring their political allegiances.

In the time to which we now turn, however, Holland was among domains ruled over by Philip the Fair, the Regent Margaret, and even Charles V. There was then something that might be called a general Netherlandish culture. In those days Antwerp was the capital of the whole region. Yet the intellectual forces that burst this fabric asunder must have grown before that time. It is the task of the cultural historian to trace their origins. The Dutch endowment that triumphed in the felicitous conditions of the 17th century must be dissected from the whole at this earlier stage, its influence and contribution defined. In the multifarious interchange among Holland, Flanders and Brabant its presence is as demonstrable in Antwerp as it is in Haarlem.

Expectations founded on insight orient and sharpen the eye—but they also tend to restrict observation. One must forget that Lucas van Leyden and Rembrandt did their work in the same town—and then one must be mindful of it at the right moment. We seek to look at the masters without prejudgment, to be content if, in the end, some traits stand out as specifically Dutch, heralding the glorious and familiar art of the 17th century.

The literature proves quite productive. On Jan Mostaert, Sander Pierron's book, *Les Mostaert*, Brussels, 1912, provides reliable information, apart from the subject of stylistic criticism. F. Dülberg, especially, has devoted his attention with success to the Leyden masters, beginning with his dissertation, *Die Leidener Malerschule* (Berlin, 1899), and subsequently in several articles and the highly meritorious collotype publication, *Die Frühholländer—in Utrecht, Italien und Frankreich* (Haarlem, 1903-1908). E. Gavelle has recently published a voluminous and thoroughgoing

book on Engelbrechtsz (Lyons, 1929). On Lucas van Leyden we have the French monograph by N. Beets (Brussels, 1913). In the course of my account I shall mention other books and articles that contain valuable contributions.

Jan Mostaert - His Life and Work

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1. German edition, Vol. 1,
p. 226.

2. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*,
New Series, Vol. VII, 1896,
pp. 265 ff.

3. German edition, Vol. 1,
p. 64.

4. *Les Artistes de Haarlem*,
1870, p. 54.

5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 229.

6. See Vol. v, p. 11.

7. German edition, Vol. 1,
p. 358.

8. A Jacob Willemsz. is
mentioned in 1485 as a
Haarlem master. A Jacob
Mostaert died there in 1515.
He may have been Jan's uncle
and identical with Willemaz.

About Jan Mostaert we not only know what van Mander tells us¹—we also enjoy the immediate experience of his work. Stylistic critics had already put together a group of paintings that displayed many conspicuous links with van Manders' text. Scheibler was in the habit of designating this nameless painter as the *Meister mit dem Reichsherold* but G. Glück² was the first to suggest that he was none other than Jan Mostaert, and his hypothesis was confirmed with startling rapidity.

Van Mander's account of Mostaert happens to be one to which we incline to give considerable credence. Mostaert lived in Haarlem for a great many years, and there the biographer met with much greater luck than elsewhere in capturing tradition undistorted, for he came upon the 'aged and honourable painter' Albert Simonsz.³, whose memory was excellent and who boasted of having been a pupil of Mostaert. Van Mander also encountered one of Mostaert's grandsons named Nicolaes Suycker 111, in whose home he was shown paintings from the grandsire's brush, and his account conveys the flavour of workshop and family tradition, with its pride in the ancestor's noble descent, fine manners and service at the court. The venerable arms of the Mostaert family displayed on three sword-grips gules. The descendants preserved a handwritten letter from the Regent Margaret, in which she addressed the painter as 'our noble gentleman'.

Mostaert died in 1555 or 1556. We may well give credence to this date, given to the biographer by a pupil and a grandson. What about the year of his birth? Albert Simonsz., in 1604, said it was 60 years since he studied with Jan Mostaert, who was then about 70. This would mean that Mostaert was born about 1474, not too early a date, since by 1500 he was already working in Haarlem as a master. Van der Willigen has published a document⁴ that has 'Jan Mostertsoen' executing altarpiece shutters for the Groote Kerk at Haarlem in that year. One of the shutters showed a *Virgin Glorified*, the other *St. Bavo*, while the insides showed 12 scenes from the life of the saint. There is a slight discrepancy in that the name Mostaert, according to van Mander an old family name, appears here as the father's baptismal name. Actually both father and son seem to have borne the first name Jan. According to another document published by van der Willigen⁵, a 'Jan Jansz. Mostert' sold a house in Haarlem in 1549.

We must not put the year of Jan Mostaert's birth back to deeply into the 15th century, for van Mander cites Albert Simonsz. as saying that Mostaert had no opportunity to know Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Haarlem. Geertgen died young, but almost certainly not prior to 1495⁶.

That Mostaert was working as a master by 1500 is confirmed by van Mander's report—he says that Ryckaert Aertsz., who was born in 1482, became Mostaert's apprentice in Haarlem while he was still a boy⁷.

Also according to van Mander, Mostaert was a student of the Haarlem master Jacob⁸, who painted the Altarpiece of the Grain-Bearers for the Groote Kerk there.

Thus Mostaert grew up in the Haarlem tradition and his teacher was of Geertgen's generation.

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In praise of his hero the biographer cites the testimony of Martin Heemskerck, who is supposed to have said that Mostaert was the superior of all the old masters he knew. Van Mander, lastly, passes on a curious piece of intelligence. Jan Gossart, he says, sought the master's collaboration when he was painting the great altarpiece for the abbey in Middelburg, but Mostaert had found himself unable to accept, by virtue of his obligations at court.

What about this service at the court of the Regent Margaret, remembered so reverently by Mostaert's descendants? The painter supposedly worked for her for 18 years, accompanied her on journeys and painted portraits of the ladies and gentlemen in her entourage. Taken literally, this report would mean that there was a long interruption in the years that Mostaert spent in Haarlem. At the time she was Regent, from 1507 to 1530, Margaret resided for the most part in Brussels and Mechlin. The report about Mostaert accompanying her on journeys might point to his having been in her services even before 1507.

In the 17th century Pieter de Jode engraved a portrait of Philip the Fair, from a painting then thought to have been done by Jan Mostaert. It is certainly plausible that Margaret would have commissioned her court painter to do a portrait of her brother, as she did of her spouse; but the stylistic impressions gained from the engraving offer no clue.

Mostaert's court service is inadequately documented. The court accounts that have been published mention his name but once, providing no proper confirmation of van Mander's report. Early in the year 1521 a *Jehan Masturd* received a gift of money for *une peinture de feu Nostre Seigneur de Savoye fait au vif*, which he had proffered—*présenté*—to the princess⁹. Philibert, Margaret's husband, had died in 1504. Mostaert could have painted this gentleman's portrait from life only before Margaret became Regent of the Netherlands; and if the painter proffered her a portrait of her late husband in 1521, he would seem not to have been in her service, at least not at this time; not does it seem plausible at all that he painted a portrait from life of the prince of Savoy, who died young¹⁰. Indeed, it is quite difficult to accommodate 18 years of court service chronologically, and we are tempted to conclude that family tradition may have overestimated the duration and significance of this connection [21].

On 11th May 1549 Mostaert applied to the burgomaster of Haarlem for leave to depart the town where, he said, he had lived to that very day. He added that he wished to stay away for more than a year, since he had been commissioned to do paintings for the high altar in Hoorn.

So far as I know, none today disputes that the painter who originally took on identity without a name was indeed Jan Mostaert. His output reveals his Haarlem roots as well as his work as a court painter. His personality emerges with great clarity, its characteristics readily identifiable. If the oeuvre gained by stylistic analysis coincides satisfactorily with van Mander's report and descriptions, it is less by virtue of a single convincing argument than by a considerable number of indications that support one another. The store of works now known includes more than one

9. Pinchart, *Compte-Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, Series 4, Vol. II, p. 218.

10. Hulin, in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (No. 340), seeks to interpret the expression *au vif* as meaning *lifesize*. Jan Mostaert is mentioned in Haarlem documents dating from 1509. See Pierron, *Les Mostaert*, p. 9.

mentioned by van Mander, as well as a portrait of Philibert of Savoy, husband of Margaret, and a painting signed with the initials JM (28, Plate 19; 7, Plate 9).

In the Dominican monastery at Haarlem van Mander saw several panels painted by Mostaert—an altarpiece, several predellas, and a *Nativity* that was held in particularly high esteem.

The presumable heirlooms in the home of Nicolaes Suycker comprised no fewer than six paintings.

There was, first of all, a *Christ Shown to the People*, a rather tall panel with life-size half-length figures, some of the heads portraitlike, painted from memory or life. A well-known one-time local malefactor, Pier Muys, was named as the model for the executioner holding the Saviour in shackles, a man with a crafty expression on his comical face and a plaster on his skull. We know a painting in the master's style that fits this description very well—although it cannot be the same one, for the 'plaster on the skull' is missing (11, Plate 11).

Another painting at Suycker's showed a feast of the gods, thrown into confusion because the goddess Discordia had tossed her apple among them. Mars is drawing his sword. Van Mander praises the composition of this work, and its mention certainly adds to our concept of Jan Mostaert, but no mythological theme from his brush has been preserved.

Still another painting at Suycker's showed an uncompleted West Indian landscape with many nude figures, a curious cliff, and exotic houses and huts. A picture fitting this description has been found in the van Stolk collection in Haarlem¹¹; and whether or not it is the same, we feel justified in regarding Jan Mostaert as the painter, particularly in view of the unusual, indeed unexampled theme (25, Plate 17). This attribution seems all the more likely since the van Stolk panel appears to be stylistically related to other works ascribed to Mostaert for one reason or another. Testifying to the interest in the newly discovered Western World, the picture points to the court of the Regent, where there was far more concern and information about the deeds of the Spanish conquerors than elsewhere in the Netherlands. Charles V had presented his aunt with marvellous objects from the 'Indies'. Among the Spanish and Portuguese merchants residing mainly in Antwerp there must, of course, also have been a lively interest in the new discoveries. Ed. Michel¹² believes that the conquest of Mexico by Cortes provided the occasion for this scene, commissioned by Margaret in 1523. This would give a date for the panel, as well as for Mostaert's service at court. Yet it does not seem plausible that the Mexicans should have been depicted as naked savages (31).

Again at Suycker's, a portrait of the Countess Jacobæa of Holland, and one of her husbands, Frank van Borssele, in old-fashioned and exotic dress. On the basis of this report a group of paintings in Bruges has been mistakenly ascribed to the Haarlem master. Another painting, in the Antwerp museum, not even a portrait, was described as a likeness of the Dutch countess, because of a spurious coat of arms and a work by Mostaert (41). Groping onwards from this point of departure, certain critics identified the painter whom we now call Adriaen Isenbrant as Jan Mostaert—even though the supposed portrait of Jacobæa is not among the inner circle of Isenbrant works. I feel constrained to record this crude and curious blunder, since this 'Mostaert of Waagen's' still turns up in some catalogues.

11. Weiss, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, New Series, Vol. xx, pp. 215 ff.

12. *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 1, 1931, pp. 133 ff.

Jacobæa of Bavaria died in 1436, hence could not have been painted by Mostaert from life, but only after an earlier model. An original portrait by the hand of Jan van Eyck might be in point. In all likelihood a painting in the Copenhagen museum¹³ is the one of the Dutch countess which van Mander saw (40, see Vol. I, Plate 61, G). The features and head-dress coincide with a drawing in the Arras Codex, where this lady is depicted after an earlier model, perhaps by Jan van Eyck. Judging from the technique, the Copenhagen painting was almost certainly done in the 16th century and in style it is related to all the other portraits that have been claimed for our master. It is very much what we would expect, from van Mander's account.

Lastly, at Suycker's van Mander saw a self-portrait, one of Mostaert's last works, showing the artist with folded hands, almost head-on, with a rosary lying before him. There was a realistic landscape in the background, while Christ, flanked by the devil and an angel, was passing judgment in heaven. A nude, kneeling figure represented the artist's soul. No such picture has been found, but van Mander's description confirms a Mostaert characteristic shared by no other contemporary. In more than one of his portraits the Haarlem master enlivened landscape or sky with tiny figures.

At Jacob Rauwaert's in Amsterdam van Mander records a *Family of St. Anne*, a painting that had drawn much praise—but here he was apparently not writing from first-hand knowledge.

At the home of Floris Schoterbosch in The Hague, a panel showing Abraham, Sarah, Hagar and Ishmael, life-size more-than-half-length figures. The known Mostaert oeuvre does include such a painting, but the figures are full-length and only half life-size. It is noteworthy that van Mander was particularly fascinated by the costumes, which impressed him as being historically faithful. One might well believe, he remarks, that people wore just such clothes and head-dress in biblical times. Mostaert would have been especially proud of this praise (7, Plate 9).

At the home of Jan Claesz., a student of Cornelis Cornelisz., van Mander saw, probably in Haarlem, among other paintings a large *St. Christopher* against a landscape. This work may be the same as a painting in the Mayer van den Bergh museum at Antwerp (24, Plate 17).

At the Prinsenhof in Haarlem, a landscape with St. Hubertus.

The paintings on which we base our view of the art of Jan Mostaert form a cohesive group. There is a space of more than half a century to fill, during which we would expect great changes, but the findings are not altogether satisfying. It is true that we have but a fraction left of what he created. It is quite possible that the paintings which chance has preserved and on which the critics have based their opinions belong to only one period of the master's career, be it long or short. Almost certainly most of his oeuvre has been lost. Over and above the iconoclasts, who left a trail of destruction in Holland, there was the great Haarlem fire of 1576, which engulfed Mostaert's house and all of the works that were still left there. Van Mander mourns this loss in his book.

We are intent upon clues to the dating and chronology of the works that have come down to us. A date does appear in a portrait at the Strahov monastery in Prague (39, Plate 23). The last numeral has been obliterated, but it is clear that the

13. G. Glück, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, dedicated to F. Wickhoff, Vienna, 1903, p. 68.

work was done in the 1530's, a late work, in other words.

The *Casting out of Hagar* in the collection of Baron Thyssen shows a date of 1525 beside the initials JM (7, Plate 9). I should not like to vouch that this inscription is 'genuine', in the sense that it was made by the painter himself; but even so the date may be correct 151.

The Adrichem triptych in the Brussels museum can be approximately dated if we can trust our judgment of the age of the donor, Albert, who was born in 1475. He looks to be 45 or 50, and this gives us a range of 1520-1525 (1, Plates 1-3).

The triptych in Bonn, from the Wesendonk collection, can also be fixed in time. The donor, Gijsbert van Wassenae van Duivenvoorde 161, shown on his knees with his five sons on the left shutter, died in 1510 (3, Plate 5)¹⁴.

Jan van Wassenae died in 1523, aged 41. His portrait, in the Louvre, can scarcely have been done very much earlier than that year, and it was certainly done after 1516, the year in which the sitter was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece (29, Plate 19).

Dress also helps a little. Until about 1515 men wore a rather tight-fitting cap, but after that date the headgear broadened at the sides. In the main, however, it is stylistic analysis based on psychological insight on which we must rely for outlining the master's career.

The Adrichem triptych seems to date from the middle of that career, nearer the end than the beginning (1, Plates 1-3). It commends itself by its size and wealth of figures. Manifestly the master strained his every resource in painting it and his energy never flagged, for the whole work is of even quality and very careful execution. Every part of this altarpiece is in an impeccable state of preservation. Judging from the pains lavished on it, it is the representative chef-d'œuvre in our remaining store, yet it is not really suited to serve as a paradigm. The master was obviously under pressure during this commission and seems to have been striving for an unattainable sense of the monumental that was foreign to his nature. In the centrepiece he sought recourse with a much earlier model, Rogier van der Weyden's panel in the Escorial¹⁵. He need not necessarily have known the original, which was still in Louvain in 1520, for there were many copies and drawings of it.

Many mediaeval altarpieces carried sculpture in the middle part, and only the shutters on either side were decorated with paintings. In the Escorial panel Rogier brought the sculptor's vision to life with the means of the painter, setting out his figures relieflike against the gilt back wall of a shallow shrine. Mostaert followed him, adopting a distinctly archaic style. The gothic latticework adorning the niche at the top of his central panel plays the same part as the modest and sparse tendrils at the corners of the Escorial panel, and his vigorously soaring saddle-shaped arch at the top, like Rogier's squared-off crest, affords room for the cross-bar and the man who has detached the Saviour's arms from the wood. Christ's body is shown as in Rogier's composition, with one arm dangling straight down, and there are the same number of figures, arranged on the same scale with the format; but Mostaert, since his panel was not as wide as Rogier's, had to go to considerable pains in shifting and placing his figures to gain a similar even density.

In the shutters, recto and verso, he was not limited by a traditional pattern,

14. See W. Cohen, *Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, Katalog der Gemäldesammlung*, 2nd ed., 1927, No. 168.

15. See Vol. II, Pl. 6.

but he did feel obliged to stick to the same figure scale, and since the panels were narrow, space was very much at a premium. Mostaert was unwilling to forego the effect of a throng, a rich cast of characters; nor could he bring himself to trivialize the subsidiary figures in the background. Using co-ordination rather than subordination, he placed bodies and heads close together, side by side, one above and behind the other; and since he paid little heed to perspective foreshortening and still less to colour gradations in depth, the effect is a disquieting massing of figures, crowding about the Saviour from naked and inane curiosity rather than passionate hatred. The insides of the shutters show a *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and a *Christ Shown to the People*.

In the latter panel two pages and a herald disport themselves in brand-new liveries and cover up the other figures, which are seen only at bust-length or even to the neck. The lad seen from the back displays the embroidered initials of his master on his doublet, P-P (Pontius Pilate), while the other, holding a crosier, shows the letters A-S (Annas Sacerdos), and further, on his purse, the letters E-V¹⁶. The chilly indifference of the Procurator, his profile frozen as on an Imperial Roman coin, communicates itself to his entourage. Malice and brutality are signified by several tight-lipped henchmen. Amid all this arrogance, stupidity and importunate gawking, the Saviour preserves the patience of a lamb. His suffering countenance maintains its sensitive expression despite his tears and wounds. His eyes are shallow-set, his lips slightly parted, his nose broadens at the tip. We find this same type of face in sentimental icons (15-18, Plate 14).

The theme of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, on the outsides of the shutters, compelled the master to use the middleground and to employ a receding reduction in scale. The procession, consisting of horsemen and foot soldiers, the Saviour fallen to his knees under the weight of the cross, St. Veronica by his side, the leering thieves and the coarse executioners, is moving uphill in the background. In the right foreground little room is left for the donor, St. Catherine and St. Bavo, patron saint of Haarlem.

It is the *Christ Carrying the Cross* that most successfully realizes Mostaert's all too obvious effort to achieve dramatic contrast, emotional intensity and flowing movement. The master seems to be challenging Quentin Massys and taking on more than he can handle. The large scale he chose brings his every peculiarity sharply to the fore. In his eagerness to please he lingers over every detail, including those having but little relevance to his theme—the monotonous rhythms of the flowing drapery, the patient virtuosity of the craftsman. Everything is seen in pure local colour, in a vacuum, so to speak, in a light that is unnaturally diffuse. The master seems to be taking pleasure in 'beautiful' local coloration and smooth surfaces that seem almost polished.

The Alkemade triptych in Bonn, not as uniformly well-preserved as the Brussels altarpiece, shows a *Last Judgment* (3, Plate 5). The traditional scheme has been ingeniously modified. To the fore, where the resurrected usually rise from their graves, the whole width of the central panel is taken up by donors, or rather the dead ancestors of the donatrix. Two gentlemen are shown with their ladies, kneeling at prayer-desks—two generations of the Alkemade family, judging from the armorial bearings. The altarpiece was presumably given by the daughter, shown on the right shutter kneeling, and her husband, Heer van Wassenaer, shown on

16. In a note to No. 270 in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges Exhibition of 1902, Hulin tried to read the painter's name into these letters. J. Six thinks they stand for E[rodes] V[rcani], Herod, son of Hyrcanus.

the left with five sons. Behind her stands St. John the Baptist, behind him a female saint. The Divine Judge and the saints are suspended in the rather confined space of the saddle-shaped arch at top centre. Beneath them lies the broad countryside, with mountains outlined in depth on either side and the risen in a distant group, like a backdrop. On the right looms a rock crowned by a ruined castle, presumably marking the Gates of Hell. The mountainside is covered with thin, stringy vegetation.

17. See page 15, above.

Presumably done soon before 1510¹⁷, this altarpiece, sparse and delicate, makes a modest impression beside the Adrichem triptych, done 15 years later. The differences, dictated by the theme and the arrangement derived from it, do say something about the master's development, but just how much is hard to judge.

It was part of Mostaert's nature to express himself more felicitously on a small scale than in pretentious altarpieces, requiring a monumental approach by their very size. In my quest for an example done in a more easy-going style and natural expression, I fastened upon the panel, *Pilate Washing His Hands*, formerly in private British hands and presently in the possession of the art dealer Paul Cassirer in Amsterdam (10, Plate 10).

Two henchmen escort Christ before the Procurator, who is seated in a lobby outside his palace. Through a circular opening in the wall above his throne we gain a glimpse inside, of two scenes, the mocking and the crowning with thorns. On a platform at the side of the building, Christ is shown to the people, and high up on a balcony, the scourging takes place, while in the distance the carrying of the cross and the crucifixion itself are shown. Thus the picture as a whole airily foregoes unity of time, relating the Passion in sequence. The colour scheme is neat and serene, the participants seem in fine fettle, hence there is no suggestion of a tragic mood. The master tells his story without pathos and seems to lessen the element of guilt by emphasizing the ignorance of the actors. The Procurator's features and posture betray cowardice and irresolution. His wife, a figure reminiscent of Massys, stands by his side with an imploring gesture, on the opposite side a long-legged, innocently obsequious page, hair combed deep over his brow. The drapery falls away in soft, sinuous and supple curves. The pilasters and architraves carry appropriate reliefwork, scenes from the Old Testament.

Looking at the *St. Christopher* in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp, one is reminded, first of all, of Patenier—the construction of the locale and the placing of the figure hark back to him; but numerous characteristics establish it beyond doubt as Jan Mostaert's work and this places him in Antwerp some time around 1520, making personal acquaintance with the then customary type of rendition (24, Plate 17). Patenier stimulated him as did Massys; but in the *St. Christopher* Mostaert organizes his landscape along horizontal lines, leaving a less harmonious and emotionally charged mood than Patenier. Ostentatiously added realistic elements like the bright, bare tree trunk and the table with the bread on it burst out of the context of light and colour. All the signs point unmistakably in Mostaert's direction—the winding, white paths, the small figures in the background, standing out with their jaggedly animated contours, and lastly the saint himself with his large head, low forehead and carefully rounded drapery.

The fascinating panel described by van Mander as a West Indian landscape—the

one in the van Stolk collection—remains unique, not only in Mostaert's own œuvre but in the entire art of the time, a kind of incunabulum of the historical painting (25, Plate 17). In the early years of the 16th century the imagination of the seafaring Dutch was captured by reports from faraway lands, stories of conquest, reports of battles with savages.

18 A party of intrepid Spaniards has essayed a landing and is now assaulting the startled, naked aborigines with superior arms. The natives vainly seek to protect their primitive huts and peacefully grazing stock with sticks and stones. The brownish countryside with its white cliffs lies spread out in all its exoticism. We have a special situation here in which the bizarre formations befit the strange ethnographic motive, and it helps us understand the general tendency to the exotic that prevailed in the more recent landscape art of the time. Biblical events too, after all, took place in remote lands. Fascination with the exotic took hold of painting, and it was to be a long time before the familiar and close at hand were to enlist an equal interest.

A turbulent and asymmetrical *Crucifixion* in the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia is in my view a late work of Mostaert (13, Plate 12), as is a *Christ Shown to the People* in the Museum of Fine Art in Moscow, with its relatively large half-length figures (11, Plate 11). The latter represents a type that gained ascendancy and popularity in the Netherlands about 1530, testifying to a growth in psychological insight. Heads on a large scale were in demand, so that character might be judged, the subjects' state of mind seen close up. Striving for variety and identifiable individuality, the Dutch painters often resorted to portraiture. Mostaert's grandson, displaying a *Christ Shown to the People* painted by his forbear in the manner of the one preserved in Moscow, actually named the model for one of the executioners¹⁸. The likeness was striking, he insisted.

18. See pp. 13 f., above.

Changes in the master's formal idiom seem to be manifested in the lines of the drapery. At the outset the folds were monotonous in their rolling billows, but later on the fabric is deeply indented and angular motives alternate with the rounded ones that once predominated. A certain ornamental regularity nevertheless inheres in all of Mostaert's drapery.

In his portrait panels Mostaert pursued variety, sought to enrich the style of the time with a thoughtful note of his own. He was fond of placing a half-length figure seen almost head-on or half-turned to the side against a landscape background, the sky set with longish white clouds. Often he took occasion to tell a story with tiny figures in the background—the legend of the donor's name saint or some other theme of devotion.

Thus the legend of St. Hubertus, lively hunting party and all, is inserted in a *Portrait of a Man* at Liverpool (38, Plate 23); and in another portrait at Copenhagen (37, Plate 23) and a *Portrait of a Woman* in the Berlin museum (43, Plate 25) the sibyl is shown pointing out the apparition of the Virgin to the Emperor Augustus.

In the minutely detailed and picked out backgrounds there is no dearth of mountain ranges, woods, buildings. There is a lively fauna too—horses and dogs, cranes and swans, a peacock draping his long tail over a wall. All these colourful accents, the busy life of tiny, distant figures, form an effective contrast to the fixed solemnity of the main figure.

The sitters are shown in attitudes of seemingly reserve. Their hands, sometimes gloved, are joined in prayer or folded or crossed. The shape of the hands is peculiar to Mostaert—long, aristocratic fingers, the back of the hand poorly developed, even stunted, recur as a welcome sign of recognition.

The face is shown with a certain gentle urgency, in a mood of enduring equanimity. Every individual feature is observed with equal attention. The tints are light, the shadows modelled but slightly, and the technique retains some of the subtlety of metalpoint drawing. Contours are clearly and cleanly outlined—the profile of the nose, the parted lips, the parallel arches formed by lids. The later portraits, like the one in the Strahov monastery in Prague, dating from the 1530's, seem to be marked by somewhat deeper shadows (39, Plate 23).

Expressions range from youthful innocence and graceful nobility to complacent dignity.

In my view the earliest among the portraits known to me is the aged baldpate in Copenhagen, judging by the style (37, Plate 23). In no other portrait are the features drawn with such care within the wide bright disc of the face. The rounded shape of the bare head is repeated in the outlines of the trees in the background.

Mostaert pays knowledgeable attention to dress. Fur—often light in colour and spotted—velvet, brocade, damask with wavy lines of light, embroidered adornment, necklaces, ornamental buttons, lacings, clasps—colour, cut and fabric of everything are depicted with the greatest care.

The figures, nevertheless, make a flat impression overall, lack aggressive three-dimensionality. The master was cautious in his visual approach, painstakingly passing from feature to feature.

There are paintings that display Mostaert's manner as though in disguise, and among these are some that may be regarded as youthful works. We are mindful that he began his career about 1495, although among the works we have considered scarcely one was done much earlier than 1510. We must therefore look for works that foreshadow the style he ultimately developed. The following panels satisfy our quest in some measure:

1. A triptych with a *Lamentation* in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (2, Plate 4). The centrepiece is a free copy after Geertgen's Vienna panel¹⁹, while the shutters, with the donors and Sts. Peter and Paul, although somewhat heavy and naïve and a bit crude in execution, are indubitably in Mostaert's style. Possibly Mostaert did only the shutters and not the central panel which, by the way, is partly in a poor state of preservation.

2. A *Pentecost*, with a donor couple, in the Rappaert collection, Bruges (14, Plate 13). This is an awkward composition that must be dated about 1500, quite apart from the identity of the painter. In some but by no means all of its characteristics it displays a kinship with our master's wonted style.

3. A *Holy Family* in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, imperfectly preserved, hence speaking with a muted voice (20, Plate 15). Those who claim it for Mostaert may be right. If it is his work, it is of rather early date 171.

4. Two altarpiece shutters in the Cluny museum, Paris, showing David, some angels and a donor (6, Plate 8). The types are rather unfamiliar, but the painting style is decidedly like the master's.

19. See Vol. v, Pl. 8.

5. *The Tree of Jesse* in the von Pannwitz collection (23, Plate 16). This work, presenting a dazzling façade, looks like the family tree of a worldly lady who is proud of her wealthy, youthful and aristocratic ancestors. Behind the tree with its luscious human fruit, are garden, court, columns, walls—all bathed in brightness and with the kind of vague spatial construction that is typical of Mostaert. The dress, the round headgear, the sashes, pockets and chains are luxuriously and ingeniously elaborated. Wide-toed shoes, by the way, came in about 1490, but the master has exaggerated the fashionable shape. Flaring from elegantly narrow ankles, the feet are almost club-shaped. Lines of light and rows of bright dots painted with a pointed brush give verisimilitude to the brocades. The hair, silky soft, is well-groomed. The men gaze out rather vaguely and inanely from darkling eyes. The cranes, and the peacock standing on a wall, remind us of the master's fondness for these strutting cavaliers of the avian world. The curving drapery seems under tension with its deep folds, passing into the stiffness of paper in some places.

The faces show much closer kinship with Geertgen than is true of other works. Chiefly on that account I feel justified in viewing this panel as a relatively early work of Jan Mostaert, done about 1500. All in all, in the light of form, colour, conception and many details, I have no doubts of his authorship. Recently and fortunately, the figure of a donatrix, a youthful nun in white, has been found under some old overpainting. She has been supposedly identified as a sister from the convent of the Poor Clares in Amsterdam.

The Character of Jan Mostaert

21

Haarlem, like no other town, is regarded as the seedbed of the Dutch character. The historian of Dutch painting looks for clear answers to important questions from a painter who grew up and was trained there and worked there for nearly half a century. The puzzles that remain locked up in the œuvre of Geertgen, Mostaert's predecessor, he hopes to find resolved and brought to full flower in the younger master's œuvre.

As we would expect from van Mander's report and as is confirmed in the paintings that have come down to us, Mostaert was a painter of the aristocracy, favoured by the Dutch gentlemen who frequented the court at Brussels, coveting the order of the House of Habsburg-Burgundy, the Golden Fleece. Mostaert himself dwelt in proximity to the Regent Margaret, or at least won her favour with his artistry.

Rooted in the Haarlem tradition, more or less dependent on Geertgen in the shaping of his ideal types, Mostaert developed his own style from his individual endowment and destiny.

Much happened during his long career that was calculated to transform outlook and formal idiom of a Netherlandish painter. A glance at the œuvre of Lucas van Leyden, whose career spanned but part of this half-century, shows a venturesome course traversed at a pace we are scarcely able to follow. Mostaert clung to his habits with a degree of placidity remarkable for that stormy age. He did not hold aloof—indeed he was susceptible to innovation; but deep inside he remained unmoved.

A kind of frivolous innocence marks his attitude to church doctrine, and he shared his generation's thirst for the new. He appeared upon the scene about 1500 with a certain dash and was probably greeted as one of the more progressive masters; but his visual approach remained stiffly conservative, and life for him froze in time into ceremony and ritual.

He added limb to limb myopically, painted with the even and equable patience peculiar to women's handiwork, without ever grasping organic contexts or the interaction of space and colour. His eye never went beyond the skin, the outer covering. He rejected the powerful logic of light as harmful and hostile to his kind of inventory-taking. There is in his work neither chiaroscuro nor the illusion of total space. In the Passion panel now on the Amsterdam art market, for example, the lighting inside the house is as bright as it is outside (10, Plate 10). His bodies are precisely limned in depth, but they nevertheless look like thin slices, because the space within which they dwell never obtrudes to any great extent. It is not as though there were any lack of line perspective or recession in figure scale. The fault lies in a certain airlessness to which he is given. He seems for the most part to forego gradations in tone because of his fondness for the decorative effect of local colour. The elements of the locale quite often have an irritating ambiguity. Thus in the Brussels shutter with the donor and his saint, the white field against which the figure is outlined in clean contours appears not, as one might expect, as a level

floor receding into the distance, but as a hanging sheet (5, Plate 7).

Mostaert's pictures stimulate the viewer's visual appetite with their bright and open palette. His subtle choice of local colour softens any tendency towards the garish. This local colour always stands out because of its festive air, its smooth surface, its painstaking subtlety, its fastidiousness. The master's taste inclines towards the cool side of the palette. Vermilion prevails. His careful technique does not favour an enamel-like finish. His paintings have an opaque quality. They shimmer rather than shine. Shadow is reduced to a minimum. This technique is unusually vulnerable, by the way. It is easy to overclean a Mostaert painting, and this has happened in more than one case.

His compositions lack gradations in emphasis. He is never indifferent to detail. He pays as much painstaking attention to the convolutions of a knot, the texture of a piece of brocade, as to the Saviour's countenance. His vertical construction is limp, his construction in depth hesitant—he prefers to spread out leisurely side by side the things he deems to be of equal rank. His people are small in stature, long-legged at times, but short in the trunk, with large heads and narrow shoulders. They are dressed to the teeth and groomed to the nines. Low in the brow and with poorly developed occiput, they look chilly and aloof and rather empty-headed. In extreme cases they express emotion with histrionic exaggeration. Mostaert's saints are gentle and passive. Their vicissitudes seem to have rolled off their smooth backs without leaving a trace.

His characters gain dignity and self-assurance from the knowledge of being dressed correctly, appropriately and richly. Every gown fits like a glove. The world is seen from the viewpoint of a tailor by appointment, and people are classed by dress and insignia. The flow of the drapery changes in the course of the years, but retains an individual rhythm, in which the observer can read the master's character as though from his handwriting. The lines are sinuous and serpentine, reverse themselves, avoid corners, breaks and collisions. Mostaert repeats the same motive again and again, his ornamental folds resting on invention rather than observation.

The features of the ground in his backgrounds tend to the horizontal, and the ground itself is friable and fibrous. In the distance there may be a lively throng, quite unconnected with what happens to the fore.

Mostaert lived in Haarlem but had the proud conceit to think he knew what happened beyond the town walls. He displayed exotic luxuriance and courtly splendour to his contemporaries. He was addicted to graceful pages, trim heralds, the aloofness of august potentates. He told about them with a certain snobbishness, spreading out all the formal detail in even daylight, lucid precision and unflagging care.

Ranked by his historical context, Mostaert stands at the end rather than the beginning. He was not Geertgen's heir. Striking a highly individual albeit deliberately old-fashioned key, he remained a pedantic virtuoso.

The Dutch character stirs in Mostaert's work here and there, and by temperament he probably deserves to be classed as a Dutchman. There is little emotion in his work, which is frugal and slow-moving, like the work of a still life painter. He was objective and maintained a certain optimistic approach to the world as it presented itself to him. His eye lacked breadth, his taste was limited by prejudice, and he was

too deeply preoccupied with detail. In no other Dutch master does one sense so strongly the powerful tradition of book illumination. His humorous touches are timid, limited to the representation of dandified vanity, arrogance and stupidity.

The Master of Alkmaar

The panels that hung until comparatively recently in the late Gothic Church of St. Lawrence at Alkmaar merit the closest attention, for there are scarcely any paintings from the 15th and 16th centuries in Dutch churches. They were virtually unexampled as monuments still in their original location, showing not only where their creator worked, but also when, the year 1504 appearing on them twice. In 1918 these seven panels, of uniform size, went to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, a welcome addition to that institution's hitherto sparse stock of paintings dating back to the beginning of Dutch painting. They comprise a single sequence of the *Seven Mercies*—the hungry are fed, the thirsty quenched, the naked clothed, the dead buried, the pilgrims harboured, the sick nursed, the prisoners liberated (55, Plates 35, 36). Shown on the middle panel, above the burial of the dead, is Christ as judge, with the Virgin and St. John, as in a Last Judgment. Each frame bears an exhortatory legend in Dutch, the first picture, for example, *Deelt mildelick den Armen God zal U weder ontfarmen*.

The object was to represent everyday occurrences as exemplary models and to join them to the doctrine of salvation. Need was to be uncovered and pity aroused, and there was to be praise for those who valiantly dedicated themselves to good works and refused to turn aside from the horror and meanness of human suffering. The most conspicuous quality of these panels is their courageous sincerity, their straightforward innocence. The painter's task inevitably pointed to visible reality, led him to the heart of social class structure and cleared the way for genre painting. Inherent in the theme, of course, was the documentation of need seven times over, contrasted each time with active humanitarian generosity; but the painter was quite evidently more eloquent in depicting human frailty and the deprivation of the poor than in showing high-mindedness at work.

Not all parts of these panels are in a good state of preservation. The middle panel especially is much the worse for wear (81).

The figures are on the tall side and their movements, motivated by greed, suffering and zeal, are urgent, hurried and angular. Deformed and crippled bodies and physical pain are shown unsparingly. The unadorned buildings, firmly and expertly constructed, are proportionate in size to the figures.

The flesh on these figures is dry, leathery and yellow, the features sharply accented in red lake. The eyes are piercing and nearly always askint. The cheerless local colour, with a cold brown most prominent, befits these popular, puritanical and even agitational sermons. This master did not follow the conventions of devotional painting but broke new ground. He organized his panels by means of the incident light, told his story with strong accents, using the contrast of light and dark. Wide areas lie in shadow and night envelops the dungeon where the prisoners are being tortured. Here and there a figure, a head emerges in grotesque outline. People of lower classes are shown in harsh caricature, but the oppressive and disquieting effect of the sequence springs from the lighting.

The shadows are observed with such care, shaped so conspicuously, that we begin to ponder their function. A figure casts a shadow of this kind not only because of its own peculiar form but also because it is here and the sun there. When a painter is attuned to things and their inherent nature, he tends to overlook their shadows or to consider them irksome and irrelevant blots. It is only when he understands things in their interrelationships and in the existing circumstances of space and lighting that shadows become a means of integrating and clarifying the natural local context.

Shadows seem to activate the body, make it overflow its banks and relate to the environment. The shadow a man casts anchors him in space. In a painting it enriches the whole with its gliding, mobile, whimsical shape, eases, supports and replaces other means by which an illusion of space is produced, such as the moulding effect of core shadows and perspective. The Master of Alkmaar concentrates on the whole shadow, neglecting the even elaboration of its core.

This master was a contemporary and compatriot of Jan Mostaert. He may have been working in Haarlem rather than Alkmaar, which lies some 20 miles north of Haarlem. He did a portrait of the first Count of Egmond, Jan 'Seigneur de Baer', whose ancestral castle stood beyond the gates of Alkmaar (59, Plate 38). The Egmond family cultivated close relations with the town. The Church of St. Lawrence in Alkmaar contained a votive panel for Jan van Egmond van der Nyenborg¹.

What distinguishes the Master of Alkmaar from Mostaert is his feeling for light phenomena and his unifying grasp. Lagging behind his fellow countryman in cultivated taste, subtlety of presentation, precision and fastidiousness he groped his blind and carefree way into the future.

The *Mercies* were a theme that was popular in Holland. Van Mander reports that there was such a group of paintings in the great church at Amsterdam, done by Jacob Cornelisz.

Faced with other tasks, obliged to project themes that were more strongly freighted with tradition—such as an Adoration—the Master of Alkmaar proved not nearly as able to maintain as much autonomy as in his *Mercies*. If, in that commission, he was borne up to a surprising degree by the Dutch spirit, it was owing to the theme itself—a theme in keeping with an active brand of Christianity, directed towards social goals.

Virtually every Netherlandish painter has done an Adoration of the Magi; and in doing the same theme each one, by the way he went about it, gives us a glimpse into his character (49, Plates 28, 29). In the altarpiece with shutters which the museum at The Hague a few years ago acquired from private British owners, the master scatters his figures over three panels. At their arrival to pay homage to the Saviour, the Magi flood the squares and narrow streets with their retinue. Mostaert clothed his princes in splendid attire. The Master of Alkmaar lends them distinction by an abundance of followers. The Magi are, of course, shown with attendants in every painting of the Adoration; but I doubt that there are as many horsemen in others as there are here—I count more than 30. And then the many pages! Two each bear the trains of the eldest and the youngest King. The figures are on a small scale. Room has been made on the green, by graduating the scale, so that there is no crowding. It is true, however, that the bright locale seems to rise rather than fall

away in the distance. The viewer seems to be looking down from a considerable height. Logically the figures, especially the largest to the fore, should be seen from above, and the master seems to have sensed this and put it into effect, to a certain degree. A few figures, like the kneeling boy to whom the second King is passing his crown, seem foreshortened almost to the stature of dwarfs. Evidently the Master lacked the formal knowledge that would have been required to elaborate the total composition from a single point of view, but the effort to do so, at this stage in the development of style, is novel and remarkable.

From the manner in which they are placed, the retainers are in no way subordinated to the princely protagonists of the religious motive. On the shutters the variously champing steeds and their bestriders are to the very fore. A democratic predilection for the nameless throng bestirs itself, with a fondness for genrelike motive, filling the whole with an airy, gay worldliness and playful agility. The contrast of light and dark is the chief source of rhythmical alternation. Brightly clad horsemen bestride dark mounts, those in darker dress are on greys, white leggings surmount black shoes, and the blackamoor King with his equally swarthy minions serves to enrich the colour scale. The round unlighted Negro heads stand as flat silhouettes against the bright ground.

The firm and straightforward masonry work is constructed in proper perspective. Unlike their Flemish contemporaries, the Dutch were, architecturally speaking, observers rather than inventors. Jan Gossart, van Orley, Joos van Cleve boastfully displayed their architectural imagination, projecting in their paintings luxuriant plans for buildings never seen in stone, incapable of being built; but the Dutch were content with their plain, homely and familiar houses that gave shelter from the rain. Shut away from Latin culture, the masters of the North clung to the honest realism that is the mark of Netherlandish eyes. Their observing vision was never confused nor led astray by a knowledge of southern architectural forms, their fancy never yielded to the temptations of exotic luxury structures. Dutch painters faithfully depicted the buildings of their homeland—Geertgen the church at Haarlem², Jan Joest the town hall at Calcar³, a Haarlem painter of the period around 1480 the town hall at Haarlem⁴. Thus the houses drawn by the Master of Alkmaar look architecturally plausible, like reproductions of buildings actually seen. They provide a good deal of useful information about 15th century Dutch town architecture.

The Virgin and several young men embody the Master of Alkmaar's ideals of beauty and grace—an oval face, wide at the eyes, pointed towards the short chin and with a longish nose. Pusillanimous and almost infantile, his saints stand powerless in the face of their cunning and malicious adversaries. They are pale if not grotesque in character.

It was in Bruges rather than Haarlem that feminine grace in a paradisiac setting was deemed to be all that was necessary for a devotional picture. It is noteworthy that we have very few Madonna panels by Dutch painters. The mere sight of the Mother of God did not satisfy Dutch devotional needs—that required a story-telling sermon, dramatized with incident. We have no Madonna by the Master of Alkmaar, only four panels from a series, each showing two female saints (50, Plates 30, 31). The women are seated side by side, on flowery lawns. Behind them are fenced

2. See Vol. v, p. 13.

3. See Vol. ix, part 1, Pl. 3.

4. See *Oud Holland*, Vol. 47, 1930, pp. 122ff.

courtyards, houses and hill country with rows of trees in the background. The predilection for bright, clean, swept, rectangular areas in the middleground accords with the Dutch tradition. The arrangement here chosen by the Master of Alkmaar is strongly reminiscent of the Brunswick diptych I have ascribed to a follower of Geertgen⁵. Mostaert too loved such gardens, transected horizontally in the direction of the frame, enlivened with peacocks, proclaiming well-lighted order and security.

The eight women clad in voluminous, fur-trimmed robes are invested with greater three-dimensional substance than Mostaert's creatures. Comparatively speaking, the execution is painstaking for this master, although not as subtle as Mostaert's technique, to which the sinuous drapery lines hark back. The dark eyes stand out in the large, youthful, softly rounded, gently inclined faces. They are half-turned, and a squint is the Master's unfailing mark, the offside eye diverging slightly. The noses are a bit retroussé, or swelling at the tip, the chins weakly developed. Despite their aristocratic attire, the holy maidens display a coy and home-spun respectability. They seem to rebel ever so slightly against the dignified demeanour imposed upon them, to take a modest pleasure in small talk and roguish familiarity.

To appreciate him the better, we would welcome more biographical data about this master. The single year, 1504, is not good enough. How old was he when he painted the *Mercies*? Was this at the beginning of his career or near the end? Was he a member of Mostaert's generation? He may have been older, and then again he may have been younger. His place in the historical context would shift with the answers to these questions.

He did portray Jan van Egmond, and the spouse of this first count, member of a renowned family (59, Plates 38, 39). The two portraits have gone to the Friedsam collection in New York from that of Baron M. von Rothschild. Jan van Egmond was born in 1438 and died in 1516. His wife, Magdalene van Weerdenberg, was born in 1464. Egmond was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip the Fair in 1491. In the portrait he looks to be about 70. Accordingly, the two portraits were certainly not done earlier than 1504, indeed probably somewhat later.

The painter of these portraits is readily identified as the same one who did the *Mercies*, from technique, expression and the shape of the heads. The baluster on which the count rests both his arms is covered with a rug of brocade that seems to fall straight down, without a horizontal extension in depth, of the kind that might be expected. No attention has been paid to any shift in the pattern of the fabric, required in perspective. The shadow cast against the back wall provides a certain illusion of depth. The lips, compressed into a thin line, the large and prominent nose, the equally prominent cheek-bones, the baleful look from the narrow eyes, set high in the face—all these produce an effect of crafty distrust and cunning.

We see an old man, sere skin stretched over a broad and angular skeleton, a man who clings tenaciously to power, honours and possessions. It is an accentuated character study that might well give rise to an overestimate of the painter as a portraitist; but a glance at the master's compositions shows that all his old men and character heads partake more or less of this mean and rascally nature, that their bodies are dry and shrivelled. Thus one begins to doubt the degree to which he

actually individualized his portrait. All we can be reasonably certain of is that this Dutchman eagerly seized upon the opportunity to depict a lumpish and decaying oldster, who showed the marks of age and illness in his features. Jan Mostaert would have reverently suggested the august position and prestige of the first Count of Egmond and refrained from documenting his physical decay with quite such realism.

We have seen that these two portraits may have been done at about the same time as the *Mercies*; but in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam there are remnants of some altarpieces that seem to be of later vintage. They display the master's manner, but the execution is humdrum and unimpassioned—he seems to have let himself go, with little attention to form. Such emptiness and carelessness are especially evident in two large shutters, painted on both sides, with a *Circumcision*, a *Resurrection*, a *Christ among the Doctors*, and a *Christ in Purgatory* (54, Plate 34); and this is true also of two smaller shutters with portraits of donors (53, Plate 33).

Among other works by the master that have become known, the earliest and most old-fashioned is a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* in the van Gelder collection at Uccle (57, Plate 37). The manner in which the tall areas are evenly filled, the juxtaposition of saints and donors exemplifying the spirit of the church—all this is representative of the 15th century. The angels holding up the hanging drapery are in rigid symmetry, as are the Virgin and St. Anne, in attitude, posture and relation to the child in the middle. The horizon is placed very high. The observer's eye falls on a carpet of plants within a walled precinct that holds the figures, drawn on no fewer than four different scales; but while the area is seen from above, this is not at all true of the figures; and in consequence of this discrepancy there is no illusion of space in depth, but mainly one of stacking, as though the figures were arranged on a scaffold.

We perceive a thin thread that links our master with Geertgen, when we compare his St. John the Baptist, seated at upper left with a lamb on his lap, with Geertgen's Baptist in his painting in the Berlin museum⁶. In both pictures the figure crouches low with crossed feet, enclosed within the outline of an isosceles triangle. The Alkmaar Master's angular drapery of the voluminous mantle derives from Geertgen's model, yet his sparse curves contrast sharply with the capriciously brittle shapes set by his great predecessor. This hesitant transition from tradition to an individual style is seen in the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. The rather pale and tentative types, moreover, corroborate an early origin.

6. See Vol. v, Pl. 14.

The few specimens that have come to light so far give but fragmentary and dubious testimony about this master. He may have been born about 1475 and studied in Haarlem, in the environment of Jan Mostaert, a few years his senior. About 1495 he did the panel with the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, about 1500 the triptych with the *Adoration* at The Hague, as well as several other pleasing pictures, competing with his courtly compatriot, Mostaert.

He was in his prime about 1505, when he painted the *Mercies*. For one of his works we are able to establish an earliest date. This is a curious panel from the collection of Lord Northbrook, which I recently had occasion to inspect once again on the Amsterdam art market. It is a *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, after Dürer's woodcut, with a *Christ Shown to the People* in the background, after

the *Ecce Homo* engraving by Lucas van Leyden (58, Plate 37). This panel cannot have been done earlier than 1510; but actually we are scarcely able to follow this master's career beyond 1515. Although he cannot be described as an outstanding leader, he did break new ground and surprises us with his achievements in painterly vision. He sacrifices reality to semblance, colour to tone, the link to the chain.

In respect of his name we may be permitted a piece of conjecture. We do know of a painter who worked in Alkmaar, a certain Cornelis Buys, locally documented between 1516 and 1519 and perhaps a brother of Jacob Cornelisz., mentioned by van Mander. According to Buchelius⁷ this Alkmaar painter was Jan van Scorel's first teacher. Buchelius relates that the Egmond family at Nyenborg grew interested in the gifted Jan van Scorel when he was a boy, entrusting his training to Cornelis Buys. This was around 1506, when van Scorel was 11 years old. It was about this time that the Master of the *Mercies* painted the likeness of De Heer van Egmond—although this was not the one at Nyenborg. Still according to Buchelius, Buys left and unfinished votive panel for Jan van Egmond van der Nyenborg—in the church at Alkmaar—and van Scorel completed it. The family mark of Jacob Cornelisz., identical with that of the younger Cornelis Buys, consisted of two A's and a not fully elaborated v. We find the monogram of the Master of the *Mercies* on the *Adoration* at The Hague. It is similarly constructed from an A and a v, while on one of the *Mercies* it consists, doubtfully, of two A's.

Recently a painted ceiling, formerly at Alkmaar (91) and displaying the style of Jacob Cornelisz., has been given to his brother Buys; and if this attribution is correct our conjecture would come to nought; but the ceiling does seem to have been painted by Jacob, and it is unlikely that Cornelis Buys, working in Alkmaar, should have painted in a style that could be confused with that of his brother. It would be a blessing if our conjecture were confirmed, for this would lay to rest Cornelis Buys as the *doppel-gänger* of Jacob Cornelisz., a confusing rôle he has played in the Dutch literature, especially the tabulations by J. Six⁸.

One difficulty lies in the fact that van Mander, in his life of van Scorel, speaks of Willem Cornelisz., a Haarlem painter, as the Utrecht master's first teacher, in seeming conflict with Buchelius, while Cornelis Buys of Alkmaar is not mentioned in this connection. It is, of course, possible that van Scorel first studied with Buys in Alkmaar about 1506, then in Haarlem with Willem Cornelisz. about 1509, and lastly with Jacob Cornelisz. in Amsterdam about 1512 (according to van Mander).

7. G. J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel*, The Hague 1923, pp. 5 ff.

8. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 42, 1925, pp. 1 ff. [10].

The Master of Delft

Presently on show in the museum at Rotterdam are a pair of altarpiece shutters from the Née van Babberich collection in The Hague (63, Plates 48, 49). On the inside they show the donor family with saints, on the outside a *St. Jerome*. An inscription¹ reads: *An^o XIII^{to} 86 was Dirick Diericksz vā beest. anders genaemt / van heenskerck te ihelm en optē / berch Sinay. en starf ā XV^{to} XLV / de. XI dach vā novēber / A^o XV^{to} XXXII. de. XII. dē dach / in Julio. starf. Geertruyt. Vrāck vā / Dijmens. dochter die huysvrouwe. vā / dirick van Beest. ofte Heemskerek; and on the moulding of the frame below: *Obijt A^o . . . 9 mae. f. Theo[dorus] Theodoric vā beest. Monachus professus domus huius sepultus inter fr[atres] suos [121].**

1. Placed beneath the central panel, which was painted by another hand, the inscription was probably added at the same time as the shutters [11].

Dirck van Beest had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1486 and later became burgomaster of Delft. He is here shown shouldering the palm frond of the visitor to Jerusalem, and with four sons, the eldest of whom wears the clerical garb of the Carthusians—the second inscription apparently relates to him. The two youngest sons are still boys. *St. John the Baptist* figures as patron. The donatrix, Gertruyd van Diemen, is shown on the opposing shutter with a daughter. Behind her stands *St. Magdalene*. We note that neither of the saints is the donor's name saint.

Van Beest must have been born in 1466 at the latest, if he made his pilgrimage in 1486. He is unlikely to have been born much earlier, for he died only in 1545. If we assume that he married at the customary age, i.e. around 1488, that his eldest son was 20 and he 50 at the time of the painting, the shutters must have been done around 1510. We may assume with equal plausibility that the burgomaster of Delft commissioned a local master to do the work.

I take these shutters as my point of departure, having found in them reasonably plausible indications of the master's time and place. Apart from that, I should have preferred to keep to other available works by the master who did these shutters, works that convey a better picture of his manner and competence.

As for the shutters, their uneven quality and the brushwork point to their being workshop productions. As happens often, the prominent contours point to haste, carelessness, indifference and the participation of assistants. The heads of the boys and of the daughter, especially, but also the hands of all the donors are executed hurriedly, cursorily and schematically.

The *St. Magdalene* is best calculated to display the personal style of whoever it was that headed this particular workshop, and she arouses favourable expectations in respect of his talent. The *Magdalene* rises before us in a complex posture. Her body is turned to the front, her large head sideways, towards the centre of the altarpiece. With one of her rather short arms she gathers up her skirt, in the other she holds the ointment jar. Her curiously wheel-shaped head-gear is pushed back on her neck, leaving her forehead free. Her hair flutters in the breeze. Her expression is worldly and self-assured, in keeping with her free posture. Arched eyebrows and a bold snub-nose contribute to her air of spontaneity.

The triptych from the van Heek collection currently on view in the Rijksmuseum is by the same hand, but rather more carefully worked and informative (62, Plates 46, 47). The centre panel shows the Virgin with Joseph, two female saints and angels, while the left shutter holds the donor with a sainted bishop, the right one the donatrix with St. Barbara. The spatial organization with its clean, level, rectangular built-up courtyard, and the rolling countryside rising above the back wall links up with the Dutch tradition. On the versos of the shutters is an *Annunciation*. As is so often the case, carelessness sets in here and we find lapses, especially in the drawing of the hands, similar to the van Beest shutters. The inside of the altarpiece, however, represents a considerable achievement.

The three panels are pervaded by an airy serenity and vibrant sense of movement. A mild red lake predominates in the silvery tints. The relaxed figures are turned variously, their upper arms nearly always held close to the body. They are rather undersized, the shoulders narrow in relation to the large heads. Straight lines and corners are assiduously avoided. The total effect turns decidedly on the uneven grace of the young women and the flow of their woollen garments, often folded about like sashes.

Three other works are endowed with the same joyful ease of invention and execution: a *Virgin with St. Bernard*, in the museum at Utrecht (65, Plate 51), the altarpiece of the *Passion* in the National Gallery, London, with its wealth of figures, the master's chef d'œuvre (60, Plates 42-44), and a *Lamentation* at Oxford (64, Plate 50). Much weaker, and presumably executed by assistants, at least in part, is an altarpiece in the museum at Cologne (61, Plate 45).

Many Dutch painters of this generation were fond of depicting the noisy and colourful life of the marketplace whenever the theme permitted. The Master of Delft went to the limit in showing such jumbled crowds. He placed the curious, the spectators, the indifferent in the foreground. Compared with his genrelake narration, larded with exaggerated and grotesque motives, the compositions of his contemporary, Engelbrechtsen, are earnestly straightforward. Casting loose from tradition, the Delft Master combines scenes from the *Passion*, e.g. *Christ Shown to the People* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in one of the shutters of the London triptych, where beneath the balcony on which the Saviour is exhibited a coarse-looking executioner is already impatiently fumbling with the cross.

Suffering, dedication, zealous hate—all these the master expresses through the eloquence of the body, turned and seen at unusual angles. A figure seen frontally will have the head half-turned, another seen from the back will be in lost profile. Ordinary postures are avoided. Apart from the illusion of spontaneous movement, the master thus serves up an entertaining game of unexpected shifts in perspective, of foreshortenings and twists that enhance especially the tantalizing grace of the young maidens.

He lavishes his attention on temperamental women who may be displaying their feelings by parted lips, smiles, tears, raised eyebrows and vehement gestures, as well as on the irresponsible, instinctive behaviour of a child. There are children amid the throng, between the legs of the grown-ups and horses—on the Mount of Calvary, for example, along the wall of the town hall before which Christ is shown to the people, even at the *Lamentation*—children where they do not belong,

where they disturb, where none pays attention to them. These propensities—which the Master of Delft shares with Lucas van Leyden, by the way—stem primarily from a desire to fill out the composition evenly and without gaps. Disporting themselves in the foreground, the children obscure the dress of the grown-ups in part, enlivening a picture area that would otherwise remain vacuous and uninteresting; but the master is not impelled merely by a dislike of leaving space empty—he strives for leavening his mixture, for enhancing tension. The grown-ups mourn, suffer, act or at least take an understanding part in the unrolling drama. They are expected and obliged to be present. The little ones, on the other hand, just happen to be there, adding genrelike traits to the ecclesiastical spectacle, harmlessly breaking up the air of gravity.

Children are gregarious. Two or three boys keep together, watch curiously, innocently talk over what they see; or they play together or with dogs or run about like street urchins. The gnomelike quaintness of the children is enhanced by exotic and colorful dress, barbarous rags and patches. Like Engelbrechtsen, the Master of Delft tries hard to devise strange and elaborate headgear, giving his warriors a bombastic air. To dress up children in illustration of history, so to speak, requires a carnival imagination.

As is so often the case, the depiction of the human hand serves the art critic as an easily recognized feature, an unwitting signature, so to speak. This master's hands are small, especially in relation to the head, they are clawed or bend inwards smoothly, the fingers often crossing. The thumb alone takes no part, sticks out stiff and short like a thorn. These hands are well-upholstered, and the digits do not bend in sharp angles; but beside the grasping, pointing, gesticulating hands elaborated in this fashion there is another type, unimpressive and uninteresting, with fingers parallel and featureless. The donors, especially, have the worst of it, as far as hands are concerned. In the Cologne altarpiece their hands seem almost stunted.

The master evidently tended to take the easy way. When his interest flagged, his forms languished. Straightforward traditional motives like the donors' hands folded in prayer simply did not engage him. His resources were all harnessed to daring innovation. He did not shrink, apparently, from using assistants and was not particularly demanding about the quality of such collaboration.

In terms of ingenuity and sensual pleasure, the Master of Delft stands head and shoulders above his Dutch contemporaries. He seems to have worked under less pressure, to have breathed a more rarified air than the painters in Leyden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. Not for him the heavy colour scheme that brooded within gloomy rooms—his is harmonious, fading away in the distance. His red areas are invested with an airy sheen, the pigment being applied in tiny dots on a light ground. He seems to have worked fast, and apparently he painted a great many works—what we have of his is but a small part of the total oeuvre. By far the greater part must have been lost—and many of his paintings may not yet have been identified as such. We must credit him with versatility and a considerable capacity for growth.

What we have brought together seems to have been created about 1510, falls within a brief period of what was perhaps a long career.

The sources of his style must be sought in the art of the woodcut. Between 1480 and 1500 Delft, Gouda, Schiedam and the convent of Den Hem near Schoonhoven were all major centres for printing presses. Long celebrated and admired were the 16 woodcuts that were supposedly published about 1486 by van Os in Gouda with a poem entitled *Le Chevalier délibéré*². Of the first edition only a single copy is known, in the possession of Baron Edmond de Rothschild at Paris, where only a few scholars have been able to examine it. Apparently neither the place where it was printed is given, nor the year when it was published. I have no way of checking these findings, and in the light of the style of these woodcuts entertain doubts of the dating. Nevertheless the origin is always copied as Gouda about 1486 G. van Os. What is believed to be a second edition appeared in Schiedam, again without a date, although this is usually given as about 1498. It is from this edition that F. Lippmann produced his publication for the Bibliographical Society in London in 1898³.

These illustrations show a painter invading the precincts of the Dutch art of the woodcut, like his predecessor, the Master of the Virgin among Virgins⁴. We should like to believe that we recognize his hand in other books, e.g. the memorable little pictures that illustrate the legend of St. Lidvina, published in Schiedam in 1498, and the devotional books that were printed at this same period in the convent of Den Hem near Schoonhoven⁵. A comparison of these woodcuts with the paintings of the Master of Delft suggests a relation for which there are two possible hypotheses. Either the Master of Delft drew these woodcuts himself, in his youth, between 1495 and 1500; or their author was his teacher and predecessor. I think the first surmise is the more promising; and if we elaborate it, the painter gains considerably in stature. He began his career about 1495 in Delft. I cautiously reject the earlier date, widely cited in connection with the first edition of the *Chevalier délibéré*. The Master of Delft must therefore have been born around 1470, a member of the same generation as Jan Mostaert and Engelbrechtsen.

The woodcuts testify to the early stages of a powerful talent that recurs in the altarpieces in a less demanding and more stereotyped form. In both we find a fondness for crowds, fast pace, sudden turns, figures and horses seen from the back, lost profile, short stature, curving and crossing drapery lines, parted lips, receding chins, children and hands shaped as I have tried to describe—all in all, a form of turbulence that bears a strikingly individual note. The freedom with which these woodcuts were done, almost reminiscent of hand-writing and quite unique for that time, points to a painter—a painter who was in his youth about 1495.

2. See Vol. v, Pl. 130, p. 36 [13].

3. Illustrated Monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society, v.

4. See Vol. v, pp. 43 f.

5. Cf. Schretlen, *Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts of the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1925, Pls. 77-80. There all these woodcuts are introduced as youthful works of Jacob Cornelisz.

The Life and Works of Cornelis Engelbrechtsen

34

Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. seems to have been very closely linked to the town of Leyden, where he was born in 1468 and died in 1533. There is little reason to question these dates, given by van Mander, since they fit in well with the dates for Engelbrechtsen's sons, likewise given by van Mander. Cornelis ran an art school, where he trained three of his sons as painters. The eldest was named Pieter, the second Cornelis, the third Lucas. The birth year of the second son is given as 1493, that of the third as 1495. Accordingly, the father must have married in 1491 at the latest and can scarcely have been born much later than 1468.

Among others, besides his sons, who graduated from his workshop were Aert Claeszoon, called Aertgen, and a painter who outshone all his fellow students, namely Lucas van Leyden. The fact that we must view Engelbrechtsen as the teacher of the famous Lucas van Leyden does much to deepen our interest in his character and work. Van Mander is somewhat ambiguous about the relation. 'It is rumoured', he says in the teacher's biography, that Lucas, having lost his father at an early age (this is in error, the father actually survived the son), studied with Cornelis. In the student's biography, however, he repeats the statement without qualification, adding that during his apprenticeship Lucas was friendly with Pieter Cornelisz., Engelbrechtsen's eldest son. It is eminently plausible that around 1508 Lucas, the year of whose birth is given as 1494, was a fellow student of Pieter, who was born about 1491.

The archives of Leyden have contributed little to Engelbrechtsen's biography. His name turns up in the registers of the archers' guild. The bowmen formed a kind of civic guard in which, according to a resolution dating from 1492, only reputable and affluent citizens were permitted to serve. We find three different designations, *Hantbogescutten*, *oude Scutten* and *Voetbogescutten*. On 9th August 1499 and 3rd June 1506 Cornelis is entered among the *Hantbogescutten*, on 6th March 1514 as an *oude Scutte*, and on 23rd May 1515 and 7th May 1519 as a *Voetbogescutte*, suggesting that seniority may have been a qualification for the various groups. Engelbrechtsz. was 31 or 32 when he joined the archers' guild, and his son Cornelis, born in 1493, was about the same age when he was admitted in 1522. Yet in sharp contrast to the classification suggested by the dates above, Lucas van Leyden was classed among the *oude Scutten* when he was admitted in 1514, at the age of only 20 (14).

Beets¹ has called attention to the fact that a *Cornelis de Hollandere* is named as a master in the register of the Antwerp guild of St. Luke in 1492, suggesting that this may have been Engelbrechtsz. and drawing sweeping conclusions in respect of the painter's training and the influence on his art of the contemporary school of Antwerp. But this comes to nothing, for the Antwerp Cornelis is described as a *Boek-schrijver* rather than a painter.

When van Mander was casting about in Leyden, he acquired the traditional dates given before, which seem to be right; but van Mander got to see little more than would a connoisseur who visited Leyden today. He describes four works

1. *Lucas de Leyde*, Brussels, van Oest, 1913, p. 10.

that were shown to him as having been painted by Engelbrechtsz. They included two altarpieces with shutters from the convent church at Marienpoel that had escaped the assault of the iconoclasts and were kept in the town hall at Leyden around 1600; an *Adoration*, 'badly damaged, done in water colour on canvas,' likewise on view in the town hall; and lastly another altarpiece with shutters, painted for the van Lockhorst family and kept in the home of 'de Heer van den Boogaert'.

The *Adoration* has been lost. Of the van Lockhorst triptych we still have the shutters, at least, in the collection of Count van Limburg-Stirum at Noordwijk (75, Plate 66). As for the two Marienpoel altarpieces, they have come down to us complete and essentially intact (71, Plates 60-62; 74, Plates 64, 65). They are in the Leyden museum and form a solid basis on which we can build our stylistic analysis of the painter. The shutters in the possession of Count van Limburg-Stirum confirm that the master's name is rightly linked to the Marienpoel altarpieces. Not only do these works correspond stylistically, but the Noordwijk shutters show a faded and renewed signature: *Cornelius E . . . eidennis*.

In examining the two Leyden altarpieces, we not only look for the master's idiom, but hope to gain idea of his development, for the two works are distinct.

Some indications for dating them have been found². For 14 years Jacob Martenszoon, who died in 1526 at the age of 50, was regent of the Marienpoel monastery.

In both altarpieces the same clerical figure, apparently, is represented as the donor. In the *Crucifixion* piece he is shown with St. Martin, in the *Lamentation* piece with St. Martin and St. James the Pilgrim. There can be no doubt that these commissions emanated from Marienpoel between 1508 and 1526. Jacob Martenszoon actually became chaplain to the monastery as early as 1504, but at that stage, with a regent over him, he would have scarcely had a major voice in deciding what works of art were to go into the monastery church. In the larger altarpiece, with the *Crucifixion* on the central panel, he shows himself in a relatively modest rôle, on the predella, with an abbess and a row of nuns, who are under the protection of St. Augustine. In the smaller altarpiece, with the *Lamentation* in the middle, he and the abbess are shown in a much larger scale, on the insides of the shutters. No nuns appear here. This smaller altarpiece thus looks more like a personal donation from the two, while the larger one may have been the gift of the whole abbey.

The documents speak of a Margarete Maertensdr., from the patronymic a sister to the regent, who apparently lived with her brother in the convent, *nondum vestita*. Is she the lady who appears in both altarpieces with the same rank as the donor? An argument against this is that the female saints behind her in the lesser altarpiece are Magdalene and Cecilia, with no St. Margaret in sight, while she is expressly designated as *nondum vestita*. Perhaps the donatrix, rather than being Jacob's sister, was indeed an abbess presiding over the convent side of the institution at the same time that Jacob headed the monastery.

Dülberg has compared the donor figures in the two altarpieces, professing to discern a considerable age differential, the wish probably being father to the thought. In the *Crucifixion* Jacob seems to him to be about 30, in the *Lamentation* about 50. This would mean that the former was done about 1506, the latter about 1526.

2. Cf. Dülberg, *Die Leydener Malerschule*, Berlin, 1899, p. 45.

Unfortunately, there is no way of reconciling these dates by stylistic analysis. In the first place, the two altarpieces seem far too closely related to allow for a time differential of two decades, let alone these particular two decades. Then too, the *Lamentation* actually looks the older. It is more modest, compact and austere than the *Crucifixion*, and if stylistic analysis can come to any valid chronological conclusion, it would be that the smaller altarpiece preceded the larger. As for the donor's age, unprejudiced scrutiny fails to settle the question. No proper comparison is possible between the tiny face in the predella beneath the *Crucifixion* and the large one in the *Lamentation* shutter. The donor in the smaller altarpiece looks to be at least 35. In the larger—but not the smaller—altarpiece the donor's collar is fringed with tails, which may suggest a higher rank attained at a later age.

Accordingly, the two works would seem to have been done about 1510, when the Master was about 40 years old.

A possible hint of the time of origin of the larger altarpiece is provided by the round engraving of the Passion which Lucas van Leyden did about 1509. The engraving suggests that at this time Lucas was closest to his teacher. Rosy Kahn³ has called attention to a correspondence between the Christ crowned with thorns in the engraving and the disrobing of Christ on the outside of the Leyden altarpiece which can scarcely be accidental. The two figures are virtually mirror images. For that reason it is unlikely that it was Engelbrechtsz. who used the engraving as a model. Whether it was Lucas who used the painting or whether—as seems more likely to me—he was working in Engelbrechtsen's studio at the time the altarpiece was painted, we must in any event incline to put back the time of origin of the work to about 1510.

3. *Die Graphik des Lucas van Leyden*, Strasbourg, 1918, p. 24.

Born in 1468, a member of Geertgen's generation, a bit older than Jan Mostaert and the Master of Alkmaar, Cornelis nevertheless cuts the kind of figure that would persuade us to put the year of his birth later if we were not better informed about it. We have become acquainted with his mature style. If we date the altarpieces as early as possible, it is because everything else we find by his hand looks even more youthful.

The altarpiece of the *Lamentation* terminates above in an unusually shallow arch. It depicts the Seven Sorrows of Mary in such a way that to either side of the *Lamentation* six small-scale scenes are inserted in a Gothic framework—Christ before the Doctors, the Flight into Egypt, the Presentation at the Temple, Christ Carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Entombment.

There are a large number of mourners in the main scene. The Virgin, with a disciple bending over her, forms the steep middle group. The Magdalene kneels at the right, about to anoint the Saviour's feet, and there are no fewer than five other women, three to the fore by the body's head, and two more in the right middleground, behind a group of three men. The whole width of the picture area is densely filled with these upright figures, side by side. Behind this tall wall of people shadowy hill country rises to a plateau that holds the cross and an assemblage of warriors. Flesh and linen are sharply highlighted. The body of the Saviour lies on the ground, trunk half upright, curiously ill-supported. The hand of one of the women is shown at his neck, but without offering adequate support. We note that this particular posture is better shown in another painting, where the Saviour's

head finds firmer support on the lap of a seated woman (A, Plate 64)⁴.

The male and female donors are shown on the shutters kneeling in Gothic interiors, he on the right backed by his name saints James and Martin, she on the left by Sts. Magdalene and Cecilia.

On the outsides of the shutters appear four female saints, Appolonia, Gertrude, Agatha and Agnes, mainly in grisaille, with slight touches of local colour. The arms of Amsterdam are shown twice in the fretwork above. Jacob came from that town. Part of the paintwork on these versos is in a poor state of preservation.

The Master's vision was dominated by a statuesque conception of the human figure; and forced to tell a story in the central panel, he obviously tried to knit his columnar units together; but the fluttering garments—the tail of the disciple's mantle, the kerchief of the woman beside him—are inanimate fillers, forced and superficial, that fail to enliven the heavy-handed approach. We know these swirling veils and sashes and ribands from the works of the so-called Antwerp Mannerists.

The other altarpiece, terminating at the top in a steep saddleshaped arch, has as its centrepiece a more loosely organized composition of considerable breadth and depth. The many figures are effortlessly accommodated and the outdoors scene, in harmony with the humans peopling it, is evenly pervaded by dramatic life. In the left foreground is the group of mourners, more deeply bent and locked in grief and more emotionally expressive than in the *Lamentation*. The right foreground is comparatively empty but for two tall soldiers, forming a kind of termination. In the middleground is the solitary figure of the Magdalene, kneeling at the foot of the cross. A bit further back on the right is a group of horsemen and on the other side, still farther back, a dense knot of soldiers. In general orientation the composition rises towards the rear, with layer after layer accenting now the right, now the left. The three crosses rise steeply, forming a kind of scaffolding that is the focus of the crowd.

The modest likenesses of the donors are shown in small scale on the cramped predella, to the right and left of the body of Adam, while on the shutter faces—i.e. immediately flanking the *Crucifixion*—two scenes from the Old Testament are shown, *Abraham and Isaac* and the *Serpent of Brass*, both considered as presaging the mission of Christ.

Preparations for the *Crucifixion* are shown on the versos of the shutters—on the left, *Christ Being Disrobed*, on the right, *Christ Seated on a Stone*, his feet on the grounded cross. The terror of execution speaks inexorably from these two desolate scenes, all that was visible when the altarpiece was closed.

In our efforts to gain an idea of Engelbrechtsen's skill and motivations, we must stick to what the two altarpieces have in common, ignoring the relatively insignificant differences.

A certain store of paintings has been assembled around these two altarpieces in Leyden, by stylistic comparison; but they fail to yield what we seek most urgently, earlier phases in the style, approach and formal idiom we have described. No bridges to the past are uncovered.

Perhaps the most important enrichment of Engelbrechtsen's œuvre has recently reached the Berlin art market from private British ownership. It is a triptych with a *Miracle of the Loaves* in the centre and a large donor family on the shutters (69,

Plates 56, 57). Judging by the style, this altarpiece was done at a late stage, after the *Crucifixion* at Leyden.

Rather than being of late Gothic carved masonry, as in the Leyden altarpieces, the walls behind the donor groups are in the Renaissance style, at least by intention. Only vaguely familiar with southern architectural forms, the master capriciously decked out the pillars, half-columns, chiselled capitals and scalloped niches with a dense excrescence, half stone and half metal, of garlands, volutes and statuary of putti and soldiers.

This altarpiece seems not to have been a proper folding triptych—the central panel is not wide enough for the shutters; moreover, like the shutters it is painted on the back, constituting another anomaly. Three holy Dominicans were shown at full-length on the verso, now badly damaged.

The crowd on the centrepiece is arranged in much the same way as on the large Leyden triptych. The centre of gravity is shifted to the left in the foreground, to the right in the middleground. Colour perspective and gradation have gained consistency in this composition with its zigzag line leading away into the distance. The dark masses of the landscape background combine to create a sombre mood. Gestures, pivoting postures and turning heads have become more eloquent. The throng is closely knit in a shared event, in agitated discussion of the miracle witnessed.

The flowing, glazeliike pigments are loosely applied, almost like a wash, aiming at an amber-tinged harmony. The lines of the drawing show through in many places. The forms are soft and floccular, less tense and stretched than in the Leyden altarpieces, the line not as accentuated.

So far no success has attended efforts to date the work from the armorial bearings and genealogical data. The arms are said to point to the Paeds and Pynssen families, but the distinguished Leyden genealogist Byleveld has been kind enough to advise me that no link between these two clans has been established (151).

Stylistically, I date this work about 1520. A pair of portraits in the Brussels museum which I believe to be by Engelbrechtsen is actually dated 1518 (109, Plate 80).

The mounted saint from the Northbrook collection, presently on the London art market, was done after 1513 (108, Plate 78). The horse in this painting follows Dürer's engraving, *Knight, Death and Devil*.

By 1520 Lucas van Leyden was already near the end of his swift and meteoric career. From his strategic position Lucas's teacher probably followed his student's audacious vagaries with much head-shaking; and we can scarcely exclude the possibility that this nimble and talented disciple exerted an influence on the work of his mentor. It is no accident that the *Miracle of the Loaves* instantly brings Lucas to the mind of an experienced and well-informed connoisseur.

As so often, the architectural and ornamental data here provide 'objective' arguments that are highly persuasive. We learn about the evolution of ornament in Leyden from the engravings Lucas did between 1510 and 1530, for the most part dated. Around 1510 lanceolate and reedlike plant life predominates. Around 1520 the ornamentation becomes symmetrical and metal-sharp, preferably with spiraling tendrils.

5. See p. 53, below.

The kind of ornamentation employed by Engelbrechtsen in the sidepictures of his *Loaves* altarpiece were used by Lucas as early as 1517, e.g. in his *Sermon in the Church* at Amsterdam (134, Plate 104).⁵ It seems eminently plausible that Lucas should have influenced his teacher precisely in the field of ornament, for his engravings were deliberately intended to serve as models, and he was almost certainly regarded as the greater master who could well afford imitators.

Van Mander is vocal in his praise for an altarpiece by Engelbrechtsen which he saw in the home of Heer van den Boogaert. He was told that this triptych had originally served as a memorial to the van Lockhorst family in its burial chapel in the Church of St. Peter at Leyden. He reports that the center panel showed a scene from the Revelation with the opening of the Book of Seven Seals. Worshipers were to be seen, he adds, including the likenesses of those who had ordered the work done.

The art treasures of the van Lockhorst family were ultimately inherited by the van Wyttenhorst family in Utrecht. An inventory of the paintings once in the possession of Herman van Wyttenhorst, compiled in 1651, is preserved at Herdringen Castle, owned by the Fürstenberg-Herdringen family.⁶ The altarpiece is carefully described in this document, from which we learn that Willem van der Does with his wife Henrica Poelgeest was depicted on the central panel. On the shutters were Willem's three daughters with their husbands, Jan van Lockhorst, Jacob Heermans van Oegstgeest and Jan Kerstantsz. Stoop.

The central panel is lost, but the shutters have been identified in the collection of Count van Limburg-Stirum at Noordwijk (75, Plate 66). Apparently Willem van der Does left no son, and of his three daughters only the one married to the renowned Leyden burgomaster, Jan van Lockhorst, was blessed with progeny. Thus the van der Does altarpiece passed to the van Lockhorst family.

The armorial bearings on the shutters confirm the data in the van Wyttenhorst inventory in every way, but the attempt to date the work from the biographical data of the donors fails. Van Overvoorde has told a good deal about the van der Does and van Lockhorst families⁷ and proposes 1509, without any real reason. Jan van Lockhorst, one of Willem van der Does's sons-in-law, died as early as 1495, almost certainly before the altarpiece was commissioned; and if he was no longer alive when it was done, there is no valid reason for assuming that any of those depicted on it were still alive at the time. Conceivably Jan van Lockhorst's son, one of the most respected citizens of Leyden around 1515, commissioned the triptych in memory of his ancestors.

Stylistically, the shutters are of rather late vintage, after the two altarpieces in the Leyden museum but before the altarpiece of the *Loaves*. The pillars loom sharp-edged, artfully and elaborately carved stone, in the Gothic manner. The figures on the other hand seem expansive and free-moving. I should regard a date earlier than 1515 for this work as unlikely.

The whole store of surviving paintings is rather uniform in style, but does include several works that are particularly closely related. Having, as we believe, identified the general direction of the master's development, we now venture to establish a chronology.

One painting I regard as a rather early work by Engelbrechtsen is a smallish

6. Cf. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 23, 1905, pp. 65 ff.

7. *Bulletin uitgegeven door den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, Series 2, Vol. 4, 1911, pp. 303 ff.

panel in the possession of Count Medem in Dresden, which I have had occasion to examine (79, Plate 68). A *Betrothal of the Virgin*, it is marked by the regularity and symmetry with which the festive company are placed. On the right are four women, standing, on the left four men, equally upright, the two groups corresponding in postures and attitudes. At the centre stands the couple, with the High Priest, another cleric and an elderly man. The termination at the back is the façade of a house.

The figures are of medium height, tired and sullen in expression. The faces, with deep shadows, are on the long side. The composition utilizes jagged ups and downs. As usual, variety is introduced by way of the head-dresses, brocades and decorative hems. The extraordinary simplicity and constraint of the picture speak for an early origin, but so also does the 'Gothic' drapery sweep in the Virgin's white robe. There is nothing here yet of Mannerist turbulence.

Among the paintings of the Passion of Christ by Engelbrechtsz. that are known to us, several are marked by hieratic dignity and tranquillity, showing Christ on the Cross with saints on either side. One such, with six figures (not counting the Virgin and the Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the cross) is in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (91, Plate 72). Another, with eight saints, formerly in the von Kaufmann collection, is now on the Berlin art market (92, Plate 73). Lastly there is a picture from the Pelletier collection, showing the Virgin, the Magdalene, the two Johns and St. Peter (88, Plate 71).

A triptych in the Vienna Staatsgalerie showing the baptism of Naaman the Syrian is signally harsh in impression, partly because of its extraordinary state of preservation (67, Plates 54, 55). One figure in the foreground of the central panel is very tall, while others in the middleground are strangely short. The steeply ascending, stony, unshaded countryside with many defensive structures and picturesquely overhanging rocks is painstakingly elaborated in line. The horses hold their heads bolt-upright. The artist does not really seem to have achieved his purpose—to tell a lively story and characterize the subsidiary figures sharply. It is an intriguing composition, but there is something awkward and halting about it.

We find a landscape of rather similar character only in a panel in the Rijksmuseum, a *Christ Taking Leave of the Virgin* (82, Plate 69).

I must once again suggest the possibility that Lucas van Leyden was a source of mischief and confusion in his teacher's studio. Perhaps his precocious skill allowed him a hand in Engelbrechtsen's own work. The impudent if not grotesque narrative of the Vienna triptych shows traces of his collaboration or—since we can scarcely distinguish the one from the other—of the extraordinary stimulation that issued from his preternatural talent.

A *Lamentation* in the Ghent museum is closer than any other work to the smaller of the Leyden altarpieces, which I take to have been painted not long before 1510 (96, Plate 75).

Three paintings of the Crucifixion form a definite group—an altarpiece with shutters in the museum at Utrecht (70, Plate 58), another formerly preserved in the Riedinger collection (72, Plate 59), and the wide panel in the Bachofen-Burckhardt collection at Basle that originally also formed part of an altarpiece with shutters (73, Plate 63). The uniformly tall and slender figures show something of the

mobility peculiar to the Antwerp Mannerists. Their languid ennui is looser in expression. The compositions are boldly enlivened by athletic twists and turns, and the tall, sweeping hat brims, together with great bunches of feathers on helmets and caps, contribute to this effect. Tension and contrast are supplied by the loveliness of the women on the one hand and the contorted visages of the executioners on the other. In form and movement, the horses are presented with a far surer hand than in the Vienna triptych. In these pictures the Leyden master seems to come closer to the Antwerp Mannerists. Masses of dark foliage in the landscape strike a powerful emotional keynote.

In comparing these Crucifixions—and a small panel in the Stockholm museum—with the Leyden altarpiece on the same theme, the difference in size must not be overlooked (89, Plate 71). The smaller format and scale are associated with a certain delicacy and airy approach, and to explain these qualities we need not resort to any differences in date—or at least not to them alone. Assuming that the larger Leyden altarpiece was done in 1510, 1520 would be the date to be assigned to the smaller Crucifixions, as well as to the *Abraham Casting out Hagar* in the von Auspitz collection (78, Plate 68).

A *Christ on the Cross*—with the Virgin, Sts. John, Peter and Margaret and a donor couple—in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, departs in many respects from the master's other Passion panels (90, Plate 72). The horizon lies quite low and the strongly animated figures stand out effectively against a sky that is now light, now dark. The execution seems hasty and cursory, a bold venture indeed. This picture was probably done about 1520, about the same time as the altarpiece of the *Loaves*, perhaps still later.

Our attempt to envisage Engelbrechtsen's studio production stands on shifting ground, alas, as happens so often. It is not enough to put aside weaker and cruder paintings as the work of 'assistants.' Considering how Engelbrechtsen worked, we must take it for granted that younger talents had a hand in all his altarpieces—his three sons, the great Lucas van Leyden, Aertgen and still other assistants. Thus when we note fluctuations in style, we cannot simply ascribe them to the master's own development, for they may very well reflect the hand of some assistant or other.

Pieter Cornelisz., one of the sons, comes into rather sharp focus. We have a considerable number of drawings, signed PC, which convey a clear-cut—albeit not particularly favourable—picture of his style. Other hands that flit across the Leyden studio scene remain intangible. Conclusions based on stylistic comparison are often rendered illusory because of this mixed and shifting authorship, inherent and ubiquitous in the art scene at the time, by its very nature clandestine and secretive, and almost impossible to disentangle with any clarity. For the most part we tend to examine pictures as though they were the pure expression of a single individual, when in fact this is but exceptionally true.

We are caught in a dense thicket of problems when we try to unravel Engelbrechtsen's relation with Jan de Cock. One difficulty is that the latter master's identity, hypothesized but recently on the basis of stylistic analysis, rests on a very slender foundation. His biographical data stand and fall with his name.

We come upon a painter named Jan van Leyden who became a master in Ant-

werp in 1503. Apparently he is identical with a Jan de Cock who registered one student in 1506 and another in 1516, is mentioned as dean in 1520 and died just prior to 1528—his wife is described as a widow in 1528/29. If *Leyen* is taken to mean Leyden, and if we then assume that this artist left his ancestral town shortly before 1503, he might have worked there with Engelbrechtsen before settling in Antwerp, indeed have received his training in the Leyden master's workshop (161).

The group of peculiar paintings assembled under the name of Jan de Cock takes its point of departure from an engraving done about 1550 and signed *J cock pict.*, after a *St. Christopher* that has survived in the von Bissing collection, Munich. We have small and medium-sized panels by this master, who does not seem to have done larger altarpieces. The small number of apprentices—only two in 25 years—is in keeping with the highly individual character of the pictures that have been ascribed to him.

Oddly enough this Antwerp painter, belonging to the so-called Mannerist group but also in touch with Leyden, carries the same second name (Cock) as Lucas, Engelbrechtsen's son born in 1495, who was a cook as well as a painter, according to van Mander. We are scarcely justified in believing that van Mander may have been in error about the Christian name and in regarding Jan de Cock himself as a son of Engelbrechtsen. Jan de Cock was working in Antwerp in 1503, almost certainly no later than 1506, and cannot have been the son of Engelbrechtsen, who was born in 1468. At best he may have been a brother.

There is one juncture at which the relation between Engelbrechtsen and the putative Jan de Cock comes to light. A few years ago the Vienna Staatsgalerie acquired a *Lamentation* that is rightly described as a work of the putative Jan de Cock (A, Plate 64) (171). In composition this panel agrees in essential parts with the central panel of the lesser Leyden altarpiece by Engelbrechtsen (74, Plates 64, 65). The steep group in the middle, the Virgin and St. John, the Magdalene, the Saviour's body, the hand of the woman holding his head—all these are virtually the same in both pieces. In Engelbrechtsen's group, however, the dead Saviour is virtually without support, for the standing woman with her hand under his head could not possibly be holding up his trunk. I have already mentioned this curious discrepancy.

In de Cock's painting the woman is seated and the head of Christ is firmly supported on her lap. At first blush we must be inclined to regard the master who makes physical sense as the originator of the composition, and Engelbrechtsen, who garbled it, as a latecomer; but this, the simplest explanation—namely that one painter copied directly from the other—is by no means the best. At the time the two pictures were done, around 1510, the one was working in Leyden, the other in Antwerp. There is the possibility that they drew on a common source. A drawing may have been the connecting link.

I shall revert to Jan de Cock. Right now I do not want to miss the opportunity of learning from this comparison, in the hope of casting light on the character of both painters. Beside the sturdier, more rugged Leyden master, Jan de Cock appears as the more playful, nervous and imaginative. Foregoing vigorous three-dimensionality and the illusion of depth, he circumscribes his thin and almost transparent forms with subtly moving lines. His drawing is full of whim and wit. He favours diffuse light and fair tints in the foreground, animating his background

with sharp alternations of light and dark. He seems more akin spiritually to Jerome Bosch than any other painter of his generation. He may have known that master with the magic touch, though we need not necessarily assume a personal contact. De Cock's manner of constructing the countryside brings to mind Patenier, but this is scarcely surprising, for we have seen how the Patenier approach dominated the whole school of Antwerp⁸. At the same time, the influence of this landscape painter probably did not take hold until after 1515. We thus gain an indication for dating the work of Jan de Cock. His allegiance to the Mannerists is manifested in fluttering garments, excessively tall stature, mannered postures and a frantic quest for novel approaches to sacred themes. He stands out among the Mannerists by virtue of his imaginative style. In terms of landscape and light effects, he outstrips all his contemporaries.

I would point to his highly individual rendering of hair and beard as a particularly inveterate characteristic. His hair is made up of countless small wiry curls, prickly in structure. His beards are either pointed or stiffly turned up or fringelike. He tends to split and subdivide and ramify his forms, and this invests his flora with a sense of minute and burgeoning multiplicity. His eyes are for the most part widely spaced. Background figures in sharp outline seem to slink forwards on wobbly knees. His hands are often stretched out horizontally, as though pointing the way.

By temperament and disposition Jan de Cock is quite distinct from Engelbrechtsen, but since we do note a relation between the two masters, we may conclude that they were indeed in personal touch. Stylistic comparison supports such a relation, in reasonable agreement with the respective biographical data. Both came from Leyden, but while the one remained steadfastly in his ancestral town, the other ventured to Antwerp, where he underwent a kind of liberation, paying heed to current trends and making a place for himself in that cosmopolitan port. If we are able to trace a certain response to the exaggerated agitation of the Mannerists in Engelbrechtsen's work around 1515, this may be because a measure of turmoil was carried into the Leyden studio by the compatriot who had found success in Antwerp and who may have been the friend of his youth, if not his brother or disciple.

The dividing line between the two cannot yet be firmly drawn. There is, for example, a *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Dresden, which I have included in my Engelbrechtsen catalogue, but which has some features reminiscent of Jan de Cock (102, Plate 77). On the other hand, among the panels given to de Cock the two *Hermits* in the Berlin museum (118) and even a *Nativity* in Zagreb (119) come close to the Leyden master.

The Character of Cornelis Engelbrechtsen

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If we divide the painters of the Netherlands into those who created pleasing and festive devotional panels showing life in its ceremonial and decorative aspects, and those who narrated events and incidents, then the Leyden master definitely belonged to the story-tellers. We can find scarcely a single Madonna by his hand. His penchant for the epic and the dramatic was reinforced by what the Dutch people were then looking for. Predisposed by tradition and cast of mind, they were about to accept the Reformation. They were deeply concerned with everything relating to Christ's sacrificial death. In Antwerp and Brussels the sophisticated standards of taste were set by the court, the Italians, the wealthy merchants; but Dutch society was far less affluent and demanded straightforward depiction of the gospels.

Holland must be viewed as basically Germanic. The painters working in Haarlem, Leyden, Delft and Amsterdam responded to graphic art much as did their South German contemporaries. Jacob Cornelisz., Lucas van Leyden and Jan Swart used woodcuts to speak to the masses, as did the Germans.

Holland offered but a frugal living to her painters. Apart from donor likenesses, portrait commissions were few and far between. More than one Dutch painter emigrated, seeking a better living abroad. One of Engelbrechtsen's own sons moved to Flanders, another went to England. Their father stayed behind and commanded commissions from the Leyden churches and near-by monasteries. Fees were modest and he seems to have made ends meet only by increasing his output. That may be one reason why his technique grew resolutely rough and took on a spotty impasto character.

None of his Netherlandish contemporaries immersed himself so deeply in the Saviour's life. He recorded the course of the Passion in numerous episodes, relentlessly depicting its full physical cruelty. He lacked the ecstatic symbolism and spiritual refinement with which Quentin Massys, for example, addressed a more discriminating and ethnically mixed audience. He simply projected what had happened down here on earth long ago. It was his job to remind the faithful in full circumstance of the shattering events that had once taken place. He meant to paint history rather than apotheoses. With our superior knowledge of the past, we do not, alas, look upon these paintings as historical. Finding so little in them that we can accept as historical truth, we tend to misread the artist's intention. Engelbrechtsen was especially inventive in his dress. He outdid himself in convoluted and outlandish head-gear, hats of curious cut, marvellously intricate necklaces. To his contemporaries all this signalled far more clearly than it does to us that what he depicted happened long ago and far away.

He was fond of showing the adversaries of Christ as hulking and warlike, elaborately armed, mounted on rearing and wheeling horses. His executioners attend to their work with officious rigour rather than malice.

What I am saying here may remind some readers of my characterization of the work of Geertgen¹. This merely serves to confirm as specifically Dutch the 'sense

¹. See Vol. v, pp. 26 f.

of history' that stirred in devotional painting, in protest against ecclesiastical convention.

Engelbrechtsen composed in bright patches and dark, subordinated local colour to the overall tone. His palette is warm, heavy and sombre, attuned to indoors. He accented his bodies by irradiating them, emphasized the bone structure, the play of muscles, the moulded knees and swelling calves, the long hands with their sure grip. He deepened the hollows of the eyes, his mouths are slashed sharply, his lips fall away to the sides. Most of his drapery folds are vertical. His looming, tanned figures stand tall, impressively lithe and fit from play or service in the field. They walk and talk with calm self-assurance. The skull rises steeply, the occiput far less well developed. The faces are often masklike, sometimes with pendulous noses, the tip lighted with a bright spot. The shifting and foreshortening of heads in perspective is used for purposes of distortion to characterize the mean and ignoble.

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His 'beautiful' women display little variety, whether shown as saints or mourners. They are blooming and tall in stature. Upright and forthright, they have small but prominent chins and long noses. Their gaze is wistful.

The most acrobatic action is reserved to the desperate, writhing Thieves roped to their wooden poles.

In time Engelbrechtsen absorbed more and more of the rhythms of the Antwerp Mannerists. Emotion was expressed in exaggerated twistings and turnings. The to and fro of *contrapposto* served to enhance dramatic effect.

The abundance of his figures provides density of texture without confusion. We may assume that Cornelis acquitted himself well as a member of the archers' guild. A kind of military order pervades his pictures. His groups are well-organized in controlled depth. There is consistency to the way they trail off, as there is in his gradation of the atmosphere towards the horizon. His throngs are steadily attenuated—in size, in mass, in tint.

His sturdy technique uses glaze, sharp accents, heavy touches, fat highlights, but always keeps the whole in focus. Anything but subtle or fastidious, it agrees perfectly with his stalwart and earthy approach to the Bible texts.

Lucas van Leyden - His Life and His Paintings

Van Mander is very eloquent on the subject of Lucas van Leyden. There is much to report this time, for the engravings provide abundant material, easy of access. Like Martin Schongauer and Dürer, Lucas rests his enduring fame on the engravings he created, plainly marked as works by his hand. Reverently preserved by collectors, these monuments also preserve tradition about their author more firmly than his paintings. They lend life to his name and provide sturdy support for his biography.

In Haarlem van Mander was close to the engraver Goltzius, an academic antiquarian who looked back on Lucas as a prominent forerunner. 'To his great pleasure and at a high price', Goltzius had bought an altarpiece with shutters, by Lucas, in Leyden in 1602—this is the triptych with the *Healing of the Blind*, now in the Hermitage (III, Plates 84, 85). Goltzius also owned a stained-glass piece by Lucas. All this van Mander tells us. He does not explicitly say so, but doubtless Goltzius had a full complement of his predecessor's engravings as well.

The Leyden master's well-founded and circumstantial fame was established at an early stage by his engravings, in contrast to his paintings, appreciation for which came much later and with some difficulty. These engravings, signed and for the most part dated, provide a hard core around which we may build his oeuvre as a painter.

In the title of his biography, van Mander describes his hero as an eminent *Schilder, Plaet-snijder und Glas-schrijver*. In addition to the engravings, he speaks at length of all the paintings he managed to see, always at pains to underline the master's versatility. The tone of his biographical account is nevertheless set by the engravings. Thumbing through well-arranged portfolios, van Mander traces his subject's course.

He came upon an engraving dated 1508, *Mohammed and the Murdered Monk*. He was assured that Lucas was born in late May or early June 1494, was surprised and reluctant to accept this year. In the end he did so, trusting 'those who ought to know'. The care with which the months were specified testifies to the fact that both he and his informants were aware that this was a matter of some importance, about which statements should not be made irresponsibly. Every time van Mander came upon a date on an engraving he went back over the artist's age, more and more astonished over such miraculous precocity.

Who was it that van Mander felt obliged to believe? Lucas left but one daughter, whose son, Lucas Damessen, was 'a rather good painter' and died in Utrecht in 1604, at the age of 71 (201). In all likelihood van Mander knew Damessen and questioned him closely. His intimate knowledge of the fact that a grandson was born only nine days before his grandfather's death confirms that van Mander drew directly on family tradition.

People have always remained suspicious of the birth date given for Lucas van Leyden and unsuccessfully sought further confirmation. We do have portraits and

1. The engraving numbered B. 174 is not a self-portrait, indeed, not even a portrait, and No. B. 173 is neither by Lucas, nor a portrait of him.

2. Reproduced in the French edition of van Mander, *Le Livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*, trad. p. H. Hymans, Paris 1884-1885, Vol. 1, p. 139.

3. Reproduced in the French edition of van Mander, Hymans, p. 145. The drawing is reproduced in J. Veth and S. Muller, *Albrecht Dürers Niederländische Reise*, Berlin/Utrecht, 1918, Vol. II, Pl. 77.

4. Bock, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 405.

self-portraits by him¹. There is, first of all, the painting in the Brunswick museum (135, Plate 105). Of itself, and quite apart from the engraving done from it by Andreas Stock about 1620², this is, judging from the direction of the eyes alone, a self-portrait and one done with astonishing assurance. A banderole on the engraving states that Lucas made this likeness when he was 15 years old. Provided he knew when Lucas was born and the year in which he did the painting, Stock would have found it easy to give the age—but whence did he have this knowledge?

The picture looks as though it were Lucas's work, and the tense, uncertain, worried face is indeed that of a young man—a young man who is nevertheless self-assured and already has some experience behind him; but it is not easy to believe that he was only 15 years old at the time. Yet once we have accepted the birth date, we ought to be prepared for the possibility that such a prodigy would look precociously mature. We could wish, all the same, that the self-portrait would more clearly confirm the traditional birth date, that Stock's assertion would serve as a check on van Mander's. In this we do not succeed.

There is another difficulty. The Brunswick features are hard to reconcile with a reliably authenticated portrait, drawn by Dürer in Antwerp in 1521, about 12th July, *mit dem Steft* (metalpoint). We know this from Dürer's diary, and the drawing has come down to us—it is in the museum at Lille (B, Plate 127). An engraving from it, with verses by Lampsonius, was published in 1572, in the well-known series of portraits of painters³.

It is a dreamy yet suffering face, that of a cultured man who has himself under control. He is certainly not at once recognizable as the surly chap with the piercing eyes in the Brunswick portrait. The lips are not as prominent, the nose longer and less snubbed. In our effort to see a resemblance between these two likenesses, we are compelled to put them as far apart in time as possible. Can we agree that Lucas, as portrayed by Dürer, looks to be about 27? He could have scarcely been very much older.

Several other self-portraits have been discovered⁴. One of them that seems plausible to me is the youthful head, seen in full-face, in the *Sermon in the Church* in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (134, Plate 104). If this is indeed Lucas, he looks younger than in the Dürer drawing. We might assume a date around 1517. This would leave 1512 for the Brunswick portrait—unless we accept the engraver Stock's 1509.

As we shall see, these dates are in reasonable agreement with the conclusions from stylistic analysis.

The registers of the Leyden archers fail to provide us with the reassurance we seek concerning the year the master was born. His name appears for the first time on 6th March 1514, which would make him 19 at the time, an age quite in keeping with the necessary maturity for joining the civil guard. Oddly enough, he is listed among the *oude Scutten*, together with Cornelis Engelbrechtsen, born in 1468; but in 1515 and 1519 he is lumped with the crossbowmen, among whom Engelbrechtsen was numbered as early as 1499 (211).

Nothing contradicts the birthdate that causes us to much puzzlement. There is no evidence of its inaccuracy—except its implausibility when we stand face to face with the master's works.

Once we have overcome our reluctance to regard the engraving, *Mohammed and the Monk*, as the work of a 14 year old, we discover, to our further confusion, a whole series of engravings that seem far more like the work of a novice when compared to the 1508 sheet and that must be stylistically placed before that time⁵.

Lucas also made drawings for woodcuts. An Utrecht missal of 1508 contains a woodcut of *St. Martin* that has been claimed as a work of the Leyden master—and no opposition has been voiced to this attribution. Now it is entirely conceivable that an apprentice might have made engravings on his own, but somewhat less likely that a printer would have commissioned a boy not yet eligible for guild membership to make drawings for woodcuts for books.

Van Mander seasons his biography with the miracle of Lucas's precocity and enumerates many engravings and some paintings, at least three of which have come down to us—but he is very sparing with data about the master's life.

Lucas's father was named Huygh Jacobsz. and was *een uytmemende Schilder in zijnen tijdt*. Lucas studied with him before he was apprenticed to Engelbrechtsen. Huygh's name first appears in the Leyden records in 1480, and he did some works for churches in that town⁶. Van Vaernewyck⁷ saw a panel by *Meester Hugu van der Leyden in Hollant*, in the church of St. Peter in Ghent⁸. Huygh apparently outlived his son.

Van Mander says that Lucas published engravings of his own invention as a child of nine and at twelve was painting a *Legend of St. Hubert* in water colour on canvas, for a certain Heer van Lockhorst. If we give credence to this and further assume that when Lucas joined Engelbrechtsen's workshop about 1508, he was 15 years old, the customary age for apprentices, we may be sure that the relation of master and student cannot have been of the character then generally accepted as natural and proper. What could so precocious a lad learn from Engelbrechtsen?

His approach to his calling was from the outset on an altogether different level from that of his teacher. Lucas's vision reached deep into the unique individuality of his theme, its special psychological fascination. He could not rest content with the meagre repertoire of types that served the Leyden studio. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion that he must have provided stimulation, if not mischief. In any event, he must have had a real part in the workshop production.

In the summer of 1521 Lucas was sojourning in Antwerp, where he met Dürer, about 10th June. He was not away from home for very long. His name appears in the Leyden archers' register under the date of 7th May 1519, and on 28th June 1521 he was standing surety in Leyden for his brother. It is unlikely that he was the same *Lucas de Hollandere* who became a master in Antwerp in 1522.

The encounter between Lucas and Dürer has exercised the imagination of subsequent generations, especially engravers and collectors. In his biography of Dürer van Mander paints a dramatic scene. Dürer could scarcely breathe nor speak when he saw himself face to face with the famous Dutchman, so unexpectedly short in stature. Dürer's own diary entry is straightforward and slightly condescending: *Mich hat zu Gast geladen Meister Lucas, der in Kupfer sticht, ist ein kleins Männlein und bürtig von Leyden aus Holland, der war zu Antorff*.

Van Mander tells of still another journey. At the age of about 33—which would have been around 1527—Lucas set out to visit fellow artists in Zeeland, Brabant

5. See Rosy Kahn, *Die Graphik des Lucas van Leyden*, Strasbourg, 1918.

6. N. Beets, *Lucas de Leyde*, Brussels/Paris, 1913, p. 18, Note 1.

7. *Historie van Belgis*, 1574, Vol. 4, Chapter 48.

8. Van Mander (German ed.), Vol. 1, p. 420, note 136.

and Flanders. At Middelburg he joined up with Jan Gossart, who then was working there, and the two went on to Ghent, Mechlin and Antwerp.

It was probably a trip that served in the main professional purposes, but van Mander turns it into a triumphal procession, an unbroken chain of festivities. We are reminded of Dürer's own journey, on which we are so well-informed. Presumably Lucas was offering and selling his prints in the wealthy towns of the West.

Soon after this excursion the master fell ill of 'consumption or emaciation,' as van Mander puts it. Lucas died at home in 1533, some time between late May and 5th August⁹.

Four figures must be considered as possibly having had a major effect on his development: his father Huygh of whom we know virtually nothing, and then three well-known personalities, Engelbrechtsen, Dürer and Gossart. Lucas was closest to his father around 1506, to Master Engelbrechtsen around 1509, to Dürer around 1521 and to the master from Maubeuge around 1525.

Lucas married a well-born girl from the van Boschhuysen family.

To begin at the beginning, we shall turn to the engravings, more particularly those done before 1508, a respectable number. R. Kahn¹⁰ puts their number at 22 and arranges them in two groups, not without some strain on comparative analysis, a not uncommon occurrence. Whether or not Lucas did 10 or 20 engravings prior to the *Mohammed* sheet, dated 1508, we know quite a few crude and clumsy ones that are undated and that contrast with those that are dated, betraying the hand of a novice. According to van Mander Lucas was wielding the burin as early as 1503. The earliest works have nothing in common with Engelbrechtsen, while those dated 1509 are noteworthy for showing the influence of that teacher. This rather serves to prove that Lucas had been doing engravings before he entered Engelbrechtsen's workshop, at an age that was then considered customary and according to the rules. We do not know whether he was self-taught when he took his first steps or whether he was then under the guidance of his father, particularly since the father is beyond our purview; nor are we able to trace any tradition in the art of engraving at Leyden, which makes the boy's early penchant for this medium all the more puzzling. We can do precious little with van Mander's statement that 'a craftsman skilled in the art of decorative etching on armour first instructed him in engraving'. Not until about 1520 did Lucas himself use the technique of etching. A more useful item of information is that Lucas also had a goldsmith as teacher.

Let us take as an example the unassuming sheet showing a Magdalene (B. 123). Timelessly honest, this impudent rendering is as far from Gothic élan as it is from Renaissance dignity. A nude woman, ponderous and massive, is seated on the ground with outstretched legs, apparently incapable of rising. The foreshortening of her head is faulty, her feet are askew. Her flesh is seen in material depth, indented, rising and falling, light playing on the surfaces. All this, and the structure of the hair, the airy distance, shows the vision of a painter realized with the tools of the engraver. There is no precedent in 15th century engraving for this degree of realism. The very awkwardness of this work is as touching as is its pioneering boldness.

At this same stage of development Lucas was already venturing upon dramatic compositions with many figures, such as a *Raising of Lazarus* (B. 42). Evidently

9. See Dülberg, *Oud Holland*, Vol. 17, 1899, p. 66, Note 6.

10. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 4 ff.

intent upon telling his story in moving and dramatic terms, he was unable to go beyond a rather tired and sentimental statement. The postures are not successful. Yet how bold he was in wielding his burin, in dividing up his space, in shading his tones! The tension between skill and incapacity, the faltering flow of the whole, the mastery displayed in certain details—all these point to the unfinished development of a self-taught artist.

Step by step, year after year from 1509 onwards, we are able to trace Lucas's gains and losses in the unbroken series of these engravings. We perceive steady growth in his knowledge of form, his command of organic life and the moving human body. The compositions become more and more skilful, the taste refined; but at the same time this bright light of knowledgeable endeavour causes other qualities to languish—the direct relation to the visible world, the artless naïveté that knows nothing of rules and traditional beauty, the intimate sense of dedication.

Some of the engravings done about 1508—*Samson* (B. 25) and *David before Saul* (B. 27)—fascinate not only by the sheer brilliance of their workmanship but also by their emotional power, even though the figures are sometimes awkward and clumsy and uncertainly constructed.

First to awaken were Lucas's senses, giving him a sure eye and a steady hand to wield the burin. Later to develop were his mind, his sense of self-criticism, order, choice and organization.

Having taken advantage of the incomparable opportunity to discern the master's path from his engravings, we are heartened to confront his paintings, half-convinced that we should have no difficulty in putting them in chronological order. Unexpectedly, however, we encounter obstacles. It turns out to be quite hard to form a coherent sequence from the works that are regarded as representing his earliest stage.

The *Game of Chess*, in the Berlin museum, stands alone (140, Plate 108). The mournful mood, the types, the formal idiom are all familiar from the engravings. Yet the panel is worrisome to the connoisseur of Lucas's paintings, for this rather harsh approach occurs nowhere else. The theme is reminiscent of genre: ten men and two women of the respectable class crowded together at half-length, their faces often overlapping and even hidden. A woman is playing against a young man who seems to be behind and at a loss and is scratching his head. The men standing by the table are concerned with the course of the contest. The ground is neutral, with no spatial depth indicated. Interest is focussed on the group with its dead-serious air, so much at odds with the trivial happening. The sharp and wistful expressions have an ambiguous effect. One is tempted to look for some deeper symbolic meaning. The novice player's zealous quandary has a frantic touch. Lucas, so nimble with the burin, toils and sweats with the brush, applying the refractory pigment in dabs and strokes. As an engraver he was able to exemplify light and airy depth in black and white, but he does not yet seem to have grasped the meaning of a colour scale.

Well, we can conceive of a competent engraver who is yet a beginner with the palette; but there is the curiously contradictory fact that Lucas graved his copper-plates from the beginning with the vision of a painter. Indeed, the element that

fixes his position in the history of the print is that he loosened and enriched the reticulum of black and white lines in the direction of realizing the illusion of space, light and air. One might even imagine that he progressed from painting to engraving rather than the other way round.

When we compare the thematically different but compositionally similar group of half-length figures, *Susanna before the Judge*, in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, we find decided progress (118, Plate 94). The movement has gained fluency, the grouping is more rhythmic and there is greater ease of technique. Space has been fairly well elaborated, with a light wall in the middleground, giving on a deep landscape. At the extreme edge of the *Game of Chess*, only half-visible as a kind of termination, stands a young man seen from the back, a cap rakishly cocked on his head. In the Bremen panel the same figure stands freer, visible in full width. When this panel—closely related to another that has recently turned up in a private collection in Rotterdam and may represent the same theme (119, Plate 95)—is compared with dated engravings, types, composition and emotional tone compel the conclusion that it was done about 1509. This means moving the *Game of Chess* further back in time, which we are emboldened to do from van Mander's statement that Lucas did his first painting as early as 1505.

We look for places among Lucas's youthful works in the case of two panels that seem to resist such classification, each with peculiarities of its own. *Lot and His Daughters* is badly hung in the Louvre and almost escapes notice (115, Plate 92). The other is an unexpectedly delicate *Adoration of the Magi* in the Ryerson collection, Chicago, once again a wide picture with half-length figures, a type of composition of which the young Lucas seems to have been fond (120, Plate 96). It is a milder painting, rather equable in temper, with the figures skilfully and effortlessly strung together. In some of its parts it is almost graphic in the management of line. Sinuous light paths, especially in the dress of the Negro king, are reminiscent of engraving technique. The landscape background is impressive, with steep, bare, gleaming white rock pinnacles soaring bizarrely into a dark sky. A train of horsemen on heavy mounts makes its way past them. In structure, tints and relation to the whole this landscape harks back to Engelbrechtsen's Vienna triptych (67, Plates 54, 55)¹¹.

When studying the engravings one notes that 1509 marks the year when Lucas was closer to his teacher than either before or afterwards. Strictly speaking, the relation can be clearly discerned only in the round *Passion* series, the sheets of which are dated 1509¹². There are several possible assumptions. Lucas may have been following his teacher when he was painting the landscape in the *Adoration*. Or Engelbrechtsen may have learned from his pupil. Lastly, Lucas may have had a hand in the Vienna triptych. Whichever one is made, it serves to confirm the connection between the two painters—and at the same time facilitates the dating of the *Adoration*.

The panel in the Louvre is startlingly bold in presentation, even when one is aware of the youthful master's daring attack in his early engravings (115, Plate 92). Fire descends from the night sky, destroying the city and lighting the wild crags and the smooth water. Lot is seated in the foreground, tenderly embracing one daughter, while the other pours wine from a standing position. The whole scene

11. See p. 40, above.

12. See R. Kahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

is accented with flashes of light, from a torch, a meteor and the rain of sparks, which give a ghostly outline to the figures. The smooth and subtle technique and the small scale contrast strangely with the pathos of the scene.

The surviving and accessible specimens are few. Lucas the painter tried many approaches, restlessly struck out in more than one direction. His work sometimes changed in a matter of months rather than years. Widely differing statements are crowded into a brief span of time. Methodical and consistent in his work as an engraver, Lucas was a waverer when it came to brush and paint.

We have two pictures dated 1511, a *St. Anthony* in the Brussels museum (131, Plate 103) and a male portrait in the collection of Baron Thyssen (139, Plate 107). They are the first to carry the master's well-known signature, and perhaps we may conclude that this was the year when Lucas struck out on his own and introduced his personal mark—in the paintings, that is, for he had long since done so in his engravings. It is true that in 1511 he was only 17, certainly far below the customary age for a master; but we must take such prodigies into account if we cling to the birth year. The pictures of 1511 startle us with their painterly freedom. Gone is the cautious brush common to the works we have considered thus far, even though these differ from one another in many other respects.

Another important painting seemingly done just before 1511 is a triptych with an *Adoration* in the Barnes collection in Philadelphia (110, Plates 81-83). It is nevertheless distinguished by its careful colour scale, its bold and sweeping brushwork and its fair, harmonious tints. The voluminous retinue is loosely scattered over the three picture areas, with a notable exploitation of depth effects. The approaching train is shown on the narrow left shutter, the departure on the right. Detail is entirely subordinate to the whole, sometimes at the cost of accuracy and precision. The magi and their followers, mounted and afoot, form a wide circle about the Virgin.

It was in 1510 that Lucas engraved an *Ecce Homo* with a wide marketplace, glorying in his mastery over aerial and line perspective.

In the Brussels *St. Anthony* panel, with an apparently genuine date of 1511, Lucas turned to another challenge, drawing his effect almost exclusively from the lighting (131, Plate 103). The space itself says little. The saint is shown kneeling half to the side, his arms raised as he prays before a crucifix. He bears the brunt of the light, which bathes his head, hands and white robe almost to the point of dissolving form and local colour. The line from his head down his bent back describes a wide curve. Demons and changelings approach behind him, conceived in the spirit of Bosch.

The *Portrait of a Man* in the Thyssen collection is dated 1511, although not quite unequivocally (139, Plate 107). It confirms that Lucas was at this time trying to prove himself as a painter, pursuing a different approach each time, as the task dictated. The face is seen in half-profile, turned upwards slightly, with the tense expression of a zealot. The sallow, almost doughy flesh is sharply lighted, the averted side lying in shadow. There is a dark, patchy effect to the softly placed eyes, the deep, arched folds above the eyelids, the vertical furrow above the nose, the nostrils and the upper lip.

The Brunswick self-portrait, rather freer and surer although similar in feeling,

must have been done about this same time, 1511, rather than earlier, as would have to be assumed from the inscription on Stock's engraving¹³. Lucas would have been 18 years old if we date it, say, 1512.

No other work by Lucas is so hard to classify and poses so many puzzles as the *Sermon in the Church* in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (134, Plate 104). The apparently authentic initial L does serve to dispel doubts about its authorship. The key to the scene lies with the portraitlike male figure standing on the right edge. In the background the same man—or at least someone dressed exactly the same way—is distributing bread to a crowd of beggars and cripples. He may be a saint—possibly St. Francis, but with the features of a donor substituted—who is so moved by the sermon that he begins at once to minister to the poor. He alone has the good manners to doff his cap in church. Obviously it is the power of the sermon that was to be illustrated. Five portraitlike figures are inserted behind the main figure, the one seen head-on being probably a youthful self-portrait of the master.

The foreground is densely populated with men and women of genrelike character, who form a circle about a lady dressed in the Italian style and are seated on the ground or on low stools in a rather disorderly heap. They turn this way and that, in a grotesque helter-skelter, some indifferent, others excited, some caricatures, others fair of countenance.

The composition is made up of heterogeneous parts. There is the motley congregation, further disrupted by the sharp lighting; the group of dignified and aloof men of portrait aspect; the preacher in the pulpit; the deep nave of the church; and lastly the outdoors scene in the right background. The execution varies in quality. Towards the background, especially, it tends to become casual and almost slovenly. There are sudden marginal lights and the paint is applied in an oily, streaky fashion—in short, we find a kind of smug carelessness that ill accords with the master's wonted conscientiousness. A fly crawls over the head-dress of the woman in the foreground—and a butterfly has settled on the robe of the St. Anthony, in the Brussels museum—playful embellishments by a painter showing off his skill.

The architecture—the columns with figures on their columns, the shallow vaulting with its metal fretwork—recalls the ornamentation on the shutters of Engelbrechtsen's *Miracle of the Loaves* altarpiece (69, Plates 56, 57); but I am inclined to believe that it was Engelbrechtsen who borrowed decorative elements from Lucas, rather than the other way round. The *Loaves* altarpiece was probably done later than the younger master's *Sermon in the Church*, to which we may assign a probable date of 1517.

There are at least two ways of explaining the irritating unevenness of this coruscating picture. The master may have been passing through a crisis at the time; or others may have had a hand in it. At Hampton Court there are three small panels that are listed, in old inventories, as having been painted by Lucas (A, Plate 104) (221). They display striking correspondences with the *Sermon*—but only with parts of it. They are casually painted, with fatly shining highlights, like the figures in the middle and background of the Amsterdam picture, and architecture and ornamentation are also similar. Maliciously grinning visages emerge from the dark. Many features are less reminiscent of Lucas than of the draughtsman P.C., probably correctly

identified as Pieter Cornelisz., Engelbrechtsen's eldest son, born about 1490. I do not believe that this master, known from many mannered drawings (A, Plate 127), did the whole Amsterdam painting. The portraits, in particular, must have been beyond his ken; but by 1517 he was about 26 years old and according to van Mander he was Lucas's friend and it is quite possible that he had a hand in the *Sermon* and did the pictures at Hampton Court entirely by himself. We know his style in the main from drawings done at a later date, but there is at least one that is actually dated 1517—it was once in the Rodrigues collection in Paris. If one accepts this surmise, the young man with his hand familiarly on the shoulder of the figure taken to be Lucas might be Engelbrechtsen's eldest son. Perhaps Lucas was responsible for Pieter leaving the paternal studio, and the two may have been associated for a while.

Between 1512 and 1520 Lucas progressed to the creation of more representative figures, flowing movement, pleasing groups and appealing faces. The sharp edges and lapses of his adolescence became a thing of the past. He learned to avoid the foreshortening of heads that had caused him so much trouble, and he developed an artificial manner of representing drapery. Yet the graceful form which he had achieved by 1520 seems rather stereotyped and seriously out of character.

There are some paintings, more even in execution and less baffling than the *Sermon* in Amsterdam, that are readily dated. One of them is the *Game of Cards* (141, Plate 109), owned by the Earl of Pembroke, much more skilfully composed than the *Game of Chess* in Berlin (140, Plate 108) and probably done around 1513; nor are we likely to go far wrong when we put the *St. Jerome*, in the Deutsches Museum at Berlin, at about 1515 (132, Plate 102) and the *Virgin and Child with Angels*, preserved in the same place, at 1518 (127, Plate 100). Another *Game of Cards*, which I last saw in the possession of a Munich art dealer, was probably done about 1520 (142, Plate 109).

Not until 1522 do we find another painting dated by inscription—and also carrying the initial L—a diptych in the Pinakothek at Munich (114, Plate 91). This thoroughly disfigured work has been restored to a reasonable approximation of its original state, though the donor is still disguised as Joseph, by various additions and attributes. The painting is soulless, opaque, drawn with the greatest care, clearly the work of an engraver. The flesh is sallow and anaemic, the hair reddish. There is little contrast of light and dark. At this period, his vision nourished by Dürer's engravings, Lucas was less of a painter than at any other time.

Painted soon after 1522 were the two half-length Madonnas, one in the Schloss collection at Paris (126, Plate 99), and a still later one in the Kaufmann collection (124, Plate 98).

Around 1520, probably stimulated by Dürer, Lucas drew some large portrait heads. A painted *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery, the most mature and tranquil among his few portraits, was probably done during this period (138, Plate 106).

As for the altarpiece with the *Last Judgment*, Lucas's authenticated chef d'œuvre in the Leyden museum, the puzzlement with which his paintings were universally regarded until recent times gave rise to the usual explanations—it was poorly preserved, it was overpainted (113, Plates 87-90). Painted with thin pigments and

14. Cf. Dülberg, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 22, 1899, pp. 30 ff.

15. See the engraved portrait in the well-known 1572 series of portraits of painters, edited by Lampsonius.

a glazelike finish over a drawing that shows through, it is essentially in a good state of preservation (231). By stylistic scrutiny it accords precisely with the year 1526, when it was commissioned¹⁴. The effect is as of a chilly showpiece, in which the master parades his recently acquired skill in representing the nude body in lively motion. It is as though he had successfully passed in an advanced class—and indeed, we know who his teacher was. It was none other than Jan Gossart, of whom van Mander reports that he went on travels with Lucas, then about 33 years old. This must have been about 1526. A glance at an engraving of 1526, showing Virgil in a basket (B. 136), is enough to tell us that contact with Gossart had been established even then. The draughtsmanship of Lucas shines in the composition and formal idiom of this engraving with its foreshortenings and overlappings, figures developed in depth covering up one another. Everything in it whirls and rolls. Yet Gossart, with his knowledge of form, experience of Rome and splendid demeanour, left a deep impression on Lucas; and the engraving may have been meant as an obeisance to Gossart, for unless I am mistaken the bearded man seen head-on at its centre bears Gossart's features¹⁵.

Lucas had certainly been sitting at Jan Gossart's feet by the time he did his *Last Judgment*, but he had failed to note the fine, archaic, enamel-like craftsmanship to which Gossart was addicted. Lucas's lively attack, in keeping with the large scale of the work and the monumental character to which he aspired, is much more reminiscent of Jan van Scorel than of Gossart. As a painter, Lucas was more attuned to his Dutch compatriot than to the master from Maubeuge.

Van Scorel was born in 1495, hence was almost Lucas's age. He returned from Italy in 1524, armed to vanquish his colleagues who had stayed behind. Commissions from several Dutch towns fell into his lap, and he became the virtual creator of the monumental altarpiece in Holland, contributing notably to loosening up the Dutch style. There were close connections between Lucas and van Scorel. Lucas once did a painting commissioned by a member of the van Lockhorst family, and Engelbrechtsen had done one of his main works for the same family; but in 1525 another member turned to van Scorel who, with his natural talent and close connections with the church, became the most formidable rival to a Lucas whose physical powers were on the decline by 1525.

By his very character the only way in which Lucas could protect himself from defeat was by studious application. Gossart and van Scorel may have been very different, one from the other, but both served Lucas as sources of the Italian approach in style and form. Both communicated their enthusiasm for the nude, a knowledge of which they regarded as essential for lifting creative art to a higher plane. Lucas's early engravings reveal that he had always regarded the nude body with considerable curiosity. Now came the timely challenge to realize a universally valid ideal of the 'beauty' of nudity, nourished by echoes of classical statuary, buttressed by a knowledge of anatomy. His engravings from the time around 1530 show how Lucas strove for the splendour and impact of heroic nudity, with the single-minded zeal that was his hallmark. His massive bodies reach out, and in drastic nakedness and detailed anatomical knowledge he is not far behind Gossart, although the plump and almost swollen joints and an occasional vulgar posture betray the northerner seeking to realize the ideals of the Italian Renaissance at its height; and

although Lucas went to all the available sources, including the engravings of Marcantonio, these ideals were essentially foreign to his nature. He had come to know them only in translation, so to speak, and his ostentatious display of them sometimes takes on an element of parody. His gods become swaggering mountebanks.

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Jan van Scorel had been in Venice as well as Rome. He had seen more than statuary and architecture. He had enjoyed the hot splendour of the southern sun. His journeys had opened up his mind to the drama of wide spaces. As a Dutchman, moreover, van Scorel was by disposition more of a painter than Gossart. His achievement, novel to the North, was to imbed and blend his figures with the whole 'painterly' context of light, architecture and landscape—their varied and supple postures, their nudity or their flowing robes. Van Scorel here appears as the forerunner of Aelbert Cuyp, in engaging the whole atmosphere of the pictorial space.

Lucas's great work, the altarpiece with the *Healing of the Blind*, was done in 1531 and is supposed to have been so dated by inscription (111, Plates 84, 85). This date, given by van Mander, is certainly approximately correct. It shows a large group of figures, developed in breadth, in a forest. Many of the postures and gestures are highly dramatic and self-consciously ostentatious. Strong contrasts of light and dark lend accent and rhythm, and there is a hint of chiaroscuro, providing a powerful emotional mood, much in contrast to the bare, open palette of the 1526 *Last Judgment*. The landscape background is done wholly in the spirit of van Scorel.

The large picture in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg, *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*, is dated 1527 and reminiscent in overall approach of the Leningrad triptych (116, Plate 93). Painted in water colour on canvas and obscured by varnish, it has become rather monochrome in effect and cannot be immediately compared with the panel paintings.

As an engraver Lucas reached the summit at an early age. As a painter he continued to experiment to the end of his life.

The Drawings of Lucas van Leyden

57

Many drawings by Lucas van Leyden have been preserved—or at least the number is large when compared with those by contemporary Netherlandish painters. The number, nevertheless, does not exceed about two dozen (24). Having formed a picture of the master's character and his attitude towards his craft, we would expect that he eagerly resorted to pen and stylus for many purposes—practice, experimentation, preliminary sketches. Even though the volume of drawings does not accord with these expectations, their variety does. Among those rightly ascribed to the master by signature or stylistic criticism are careful designs, fleeting sketches, compositional and portrait drawings, and nature studies, done in pen and ink, crayon and metalpoint. The Print Room of the British Museum boasts the largest store¹, with one or more sheets in museums at Berlin, Paris, Stockholm, Leyden, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Weimar, Vienna and elsewhere. Much, no doubt, has been lost.

Attention is here given to the drawings only insofar as they help enrich our overall view of the master and supplement the testimony of paintings and engravings.

We have seen that there are few painted portraits by Lucas. He found little opportunity to prove himself as a professional portraitist, for which social and economic circumstances may have been responsible. The surviving portrait drawings that essentially shape our judgment of the master's capacity in this field were almost all done during his brief sojourn in Antwerp rather than at home.

The earliest drawings are found among the series in London. They are two pen-and-ink compositions, a *Circumcision*, and a scene with a group of men disguised as women leaving a prison. The latter drawing, especially, is languid and heavy, with a frantic sense of tension of the kind we find in Lucas's engravings around 1509. The *Circumcision* may have been done a bit later. The Amsterdam Print Room includes a drawing clearly marked as having been done from life by its timeless realism. In a single soft and light chalk outline it shows a boy at full-length, striding ahead, using his sword as a staff and wearing a great hat, as though he were a ring-leader in some competitive game. An inscription on the cardboard mount reads: *A^o 1510 was Lucas 16 Jaren out, en maecte den Ecce homo*. This date is not to be relied on, but accords with the style of the drawing so well that it may be based on valid tradition. There is nothing quite like it, no other work in which Lucas comes so close to his fellow countryman Rembrandt. Another pen-and-ink drawing in the British Museum, a *David and Goliath*, was used by Burgkmair for a dramatic scene in the colour woodcut, *Death in Venice*², hence must have been done before 1510, the year Burgkmair's woodcut (B. 40) is dated.

An allegorical group in London dates from the middle period, about 1520. It is a nude study, carefully elaborated in metalpoint. A young man is seated on a sphere, above the clouds, and behind him, back to back, another becomes visible. An example of Lucas's dogged studiousness, this sheet explains in some measure the astonishing progress he was able to register, the growth of his formal knowledge

1. See S. Colvin, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 14, 1893, pp. 173 ff., and the very careful *Catalogue of Drawings* by A. E. Popham, Vol. 5, 1932, pp. 26 ff.

2. For the evidence, see Held, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 60, June 1932, p. 308.

of the human body. The extremely complex structure of bone, muscle and sinew is depicted, if not quite perfectly, still with a sensible awareness of minor shifts and overlaps, as well as of the iridescent light playing on the folds of the skin.

Several large portrait heads done in soft chalk and preserved in Stockholm, the Louvre, Leyden and Weimar are dated 1521 or, when undated, were certainly done during this period. The Stockholm sheet, for example, was used in the wide dimension, allowing room for the broad shoulders and the wings of the hat that jut out far at eye level. The spirit of the Renaissance as Lucas understood it from his studies in Antwerp stirs in this twofold horizontal expansion. The head rises from the firm foundation of the chest. In contrast to the soaring quality of the Gothic style, character now unfolds in breadth. Dürer never once chose this format, but Jan van Scorel did so occasionally. We are reminded of the kind of portrait busts erstwhile being created in the Netherlands by K. Meit.

The face is turned slightly to one side, the eyes a bit more, lending an animated eloquence to the expression. The nose is a bit too far in profile. Beyond doubt the stimulus for portrait renderings of this kind came from Dürer, and it is instructive to compare Lucas's with those done by Dürer in the Netherlands. There is a surprising correspondence, and we see that Lucas was remarkably adaptable. Dürer's draughtsmanship was even and sure-handed, always encompassing the whole. His line was merely a means to an end—to record the individual phenomenon as it presented itself. Lucas was not quite so steadfast in keeping such a goal in view, but always stole a side-glance at possible interesting effects. His swift bravura line often changes pace—in the dress, the hats, the shadows. His hatching is open, sometimes crossed, and then again delicate and gently groping, especially in the flesh parts that govern expression—the mouth, the area where the lighted side of the face merges into the foreshortened dark side. The subtlety with which some parts are treated is ostentatiously underlined by the contrast with others that are more crudely dealt with. In a few details, especially the depiction of the lips, Lucas reached his goal of outdoing the German; but in straightforwardness and sureness of construction he lagged behind.

In the time following the Antwerp sojourn, the hold which Dürer had exerted upon Lucas when they met gradually loosened. From about 1526 we have a Madonna in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, lucidly and methodically drawn in pen-and-ink, possibly a design for stained glass. A Madonna in London, expansive and painterly in chalk, dates from about the same time. Exceptionally, it is a sketch for a painting that has come down to us, the panel in the Kaufmann collection.

Towards 1530 the master shifted his interest to the nude and the heroic, indeed, all the way to the athletic. Examples are an *Adam and Eve* in Hamburg, and an *Adam* in the Berlin collection (251). Exaggerated shadows enhance the dramatic effects he sought in the musculature.

Van Mander reports that Lucas also followed the profession of a 'painter in glass,' and there can be little doubt that Lucas shared in the output of small round panes that was cultivated in Leyden, for the most part by providing designs, but perhaps also occasionally by drawing directly on glass. On at least one occasion he seems to have made designs for large church windows of stained glass. On loan exhibition in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum are some carefully drawn cartoons, unfortunately

3. See the catalogue of the Utrecht exhibition of 1913, Nos. 25-32, pp. 189 ff.

partly destroyed and preserved only in fragments, that were intended for the church in Gouda. They have been rightly claimed for Lucas 1261³.

The Character of Lucas van Leyden

When we consider Lucas's life and work as a whole, we are drawn again and again to that stage when he was of an age appropriate to an apprentice and journeyman—if we may trust the traditional year of his birth. We have no choice but to accept that he was precocious. It is a case for considering the psychology of the child prodigy, and when we accept the premise that Lucas's endowment was out of the ordinary, even pathological, we gain ground in explaining his personality and some rather curious aspects of his work.

Lucas was always in delicate health. He looks hypersensitive in the Brunswick likeness, tense and depressed. In Dürer's drawing he is lean and wears a resigned expression. His maniacal creative drive broke through when he was still a boy, as though he knew that his physical resources were meagre and that he was not long for this world. He was bedridden for much of the last six years of his life and he died of 'consumption' or 'emaciation'. The face in the Dürer drawing is that of a tubercular patient. He imagined that he had been poisoned by envious rivals. Suspicion had become entrenched in his sensitive and ambitious nature.

If we put the self-portraits of painters in historical sequence, we note that the artist's profession grew more and more to be considered something special and distinctive. The Brunswick painting, done in Lucas's youth, is an early paradigm of artistic self-dramatization. Here is a champion of the spirit, someone who could never be mistaken for a burgher, a craftsman, a merchant.

Lucas's early works are charged with the dawn of genius, tense with childlike inexperience, marked by naïve and uneven precocity, almost convulsively distorted; but it is precisely in these works that we can feel the pulse-beat of his nature. Rather like that other Lucas—Lucas Cranach—the Leyden master steadily developed a manner that virtually shrouded his real nature, once he had awakened, eaten of the Tree of Knowledge and been driven out the dreamland of his youth. As an escape from the confusions of that youth he chose the way of the virtuoso. Wilful and stubborn at an age when others customarily study, he was avid to learn when he had achieved mastery. The child prodigy became a model boy, acquiring forms of expression foreign to his nature. His relationships with Dürer and Gossart were those of a rival, fighting his adversaries with their own weapons.

As an engraver he struck out boldly on a course of his own before meekly falling into rank and file. His early forms were timeless, deriving solely from his innate endowment, which means that no precedent can be found for them at all. At later stages he hurried through all the phases of contemporary style.

His early engravings display an almost inexplicable sense of air, light, space and texture, stamping him as a born painter, yet when he did begin to wield the brush it was awkwardly. His pursuit of the art of painting was variable. At times he was concerned with three-dimensional depth, his view lingering on detail. At other times he was drawn to the overall lighting in his pictures. He was forever relinquishing one quality in order to capture another. In his compositions too he was

erratic in reaching out for different approaches. So far as I know there was no precedent in the Dutch school for the wide panels with half-length figures which he favoured when he was young.

At the very outset stands a genre picture, betokening a novel relation to life, a higher value given to manifest reality. It is a game of chess, having no religious connotation, no moral, nothing to teach. How could such a scene become worth rendering? Lucas, precursor to Jan Steen, groped almost blindly into the future and missed the proper tone on the first try. Little merriment pervades his picture, it is far from what one might call a social occasion. Genre began to flourish only when people grew to take *joie de vivre* for granted, when they freely took pleasure in everyday life. Lucas, uncommunicative, inured to the subservience of his profession to the church, viewed these innocents gathered to watch a game with a sharp and almost malicious eye and his own inner tension invested them with a morose and tortured air of ill temper, as though they had come to attend a wake.

Lucas reverted to this theme and did succeed in managing his groups more skilfully and achieving a stronger sense of genre, but complete freedom and humour remained beyond his reach. It was only Pieter Bruegel who really turned genre into a new pictorial approach.

Lucas clung to life with the unhappy love of the physically handicapped. He was fascinated with human character and features, but when he depicted people at a more instinctual level, it was not without bittersweet reservations and inhibitions; and later on his ambitions drew him away from immediate observation.

His compulsive imagination always had a strongly secular element, and he turned away from themes fixed by religious tradition to exotic histories. It was, of course, only natural that in his engravings he felt freer than in his paintings to choose themes that were not limited by patrons and claims from without. His narratives carry an element of enlightenment and interpretation and are socially oriented. His figures were not to be proudly enthroned on high, heroic, godlike, saintly saviours, aloof in isolation. Man was down here on earth, a creature of the herd, subject to the same laws as others, with no rank to distinguish him. People were related by common need rather than tenderness—and Lucas's people are tight-lipped and on the sullen side. He saw them in conflict—of character or station—and it is from their close propinquity that he gained dramatic tension. These juxtapositions are often marked by ambiguity, social malice and distrust. Giving tradition a wide berth, he drew even his Madonnas and saints with quirks and whims. Ever mindful of the world down here below, he eschewed the symbolic appurtenances of traditional religious painting and sought to invest humans with a saintly character by means of languid and wistful expressions and twisting and inclined postures. For Lucas a saint was a man exhausted and weighed down by his vocation.

Legend is seen as natural destiny, to be presented with full circumstance. The focus is shifted from the sacred centre into the profane and even banal periphery—as in the *Conversion of St. Paul* and the *Ecce Homo* sheet. In the former the hero is almost lost in the voluminous warrior train, in the latter it is the broad marketplace with its throng that almost swallows him up.

Anticipating Rembrandt, Lucas wanders through the Old Testament finding

anecdotes and incidents and a sturdy patriarchal society.

In his youth he was fond of presenting warriors and pilgrims, creating four-square figures with dishevelled hair, ostentatiously and insolently lounging about. Himself undersized, the boy envied big-boned men, peasants and fishermen, who lived a rough outdoors life close to nature.

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As long as he remained faithful to his nature, Lucas was far too objective in his observation to fall victim to the playful fancy styles that swept his time. His well-constructed architecture grows broad and solid from the ground, displaying little ornamentation.

About 1520 Lucas did become a 'Mannerist'; but his conscientious and even pedantic approach to this style had little in common with the frivolity of the painters then disporting themselves in Antwerp. His Mannerism stemmed from the engraver's excessive preoccupation with technique, a line along which further progress was scarcely possible for Lucas; and since he was not a man to hold still, he inevitably experimented. He was, after all, able to engrave almost with his eyes shut and he had nothing new to say on the copperplate. It was an art form in which he knew no technical limitations.

His Mannerism also stemmed from a certain vanity to equip his figures and groups with a higher degree of élan in shape and taste. Forms become supple and polished, gain in flowing depth. Bodies rise freely from the ground, turn in *contrapposto*, behave with seemly dignity. The faces, on the other hand, more nearly approach a stereotyped vacuity, their expressions passing from jejune melancholy to polite complacency.

The master's success in achieving fidelity is impressive, but it was the result of adhering to an art essentially foreign to him rather than an unfolding of his innate resources. He was simply enticed by the formal ideals of his time. A great many things came to his notice. He was hungry for the prints streaming in from the South, for the engravings of Dürer and Marcantonio. In Antwerp he came in 1521 upon a confusing abundance and variety of advanced and contradictory trends. He had to take in everything, he would not lag behind. Fusing all these heterogeneous influences, he consigned his Dutch heritage to the flames. Only now and then, when he was confronted by the unique individual—i.e. in portraiture—do we find a wrinkle or two beneath the smooth polish, a stirring of carefully suppressed direct observation. On occasion an unseemly gesture betrays the peasant stock within the guise of the cavalier.

He was disquieted by Dürer's fame. He paid obeisance to greatness; or, put another way, he escaped from envy and a tormenting sense of inferiority by corroborating his own ability in imitation. He would show them that he could do as well. In composition and conception his own *Passion*, engraved in 1521, is nothing but the sheerest imitation.

Two of his fellow countrymen had been in Italy—Jan Gossart and Jan van Scorel. They must have cast a magnetic spell upon the Leyden master. They could help him—the heroic gesture, the nude body, whirling in space—he had to hasten, there was not much time left to immerse himself in the Latinate ideals of the High Renaissance. Early on, his forms were poorly organized, albeit deeply felt, charged, pregnant. Later they grew knowledgeably elaborate, like translucent, empty ves-

sels; and once Lucas had reached the point of being able to express himself with clarity, he had no longer much to say that was his own. The figures of the early years, rude and crude, beget a puzzled affection in their earnest realism. The 'progress' he registered in his everlasting process of learning that went to the brink of surrendering his very personality earns no more than a chilly respect.

Even when Lucas concentrated on grandeur and the body triumphant, he was never quite able to overcome the innate paucity and limitations of his vision. Indeed, the more he gave himself airs, the more painfully does his lack of sweep and scope become apparent. At bottom unstable and unsure of himself, he tended to exaggeration in his every effort. Everything in his life was a bit overdone—he matured too early, he was too zealous as a boy, too eager to learn as a man. His energy grew excessive, his refinements too subtle.

No contemporary master in northern Europe was so alert to the call of the age, so ready to change. These personal qualities can be viewed as either positive or negative. One might say that his inner emptiness gave him great powers of absorption—but then, his youthful works belie so harsh a judgment. His personality was not firm enough at the core to withstand the onslaught of the tempting tasks his extraordinary skill stimulated him to tackle.

Lucas the painter is more baffling than Lucas the engraver—less consistent, less self-assured. Some of his paintings look like engravings filled in with colour. Having begun to engrave as a painter, he seems to paint as an engraver, with a certain sharpness of line intruding into his brushwork. In between there are diversions from the main road, periods of preoccupation with the phenomena of light, surprisingly realized about 1512 and again about 1530. Proudly moving away from craftsmanship—and also, dangerously, from the soil that nourished him—Lucas developed a subtlety of line that outdistanced his contemporaries, but failed to yoke his phenomenal skill to the realization of projects representing real experience. We see neither redemption nor damnation in his *Last Judgment*, only unclothed men and women, an attempt to solve an academic challenge.

Lucas must be numbered among the masters who display genius while in a state of innocence, but forfeit their creative power as they eat of the Tree of Knowledge. His is not an exceptional case. Only the greatest of the great have been able to preserve that power into old age, through all the changing phases of self-awareness. What is unique is the early and irrevocable character of Lucas's infidelity to his original gift.

One is often tempted to view him as a forerunner of Rembrandt, emphasizing the specifically Dutch aspects of his uneven performance. He does resemble Rembrandt—who, incidentally, was also born in Leyden—in that he too seems like a slow-moving country student who eagerly devoured the cultural substance of his time—and bit off more than he could chew. His instinct held him to what was visible, real, close, sharpened his vision, refined his observation. His sense of truth clove to the static model, to existence at rest. Both Lucas and Rembrandt wrestled with the stuff of life, but while Rembrandt carried through the struggle and grew to spiritualize even banality, Lucas gave up early. He slid into Mannerism, while Rembrandt rose above it. Both sprang from hard-working stock, from a people hardened with work and effort. Lucas cast about him with curiosity, his appetite

whetted for the picturesque. Rembrandt entered into a human and humane commitment. Zealously bent on fancy dress and spiced up history and adventure, both of them nevertheless took as their basic and proper themes the simple relations among men.

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The Dutch did not gain easy access to the beyond. They built solid stairways to heaven with good works down here below, with a puritan sense of duty and responsibility to the community, but soaring flight was not their forte. When Rembrandt, near the end and after many by-ways, achieved transfiguration, he grew away from his people. Lucas, leaving the firm footing of reality, relinquished his self.

The Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin

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Very little has come down to us from the earliest time of the Dutch school, yet the influence of this phase is of the greatest historical significance. Hence we must be particularly alert to any and every figure from this period that comes into view.

The documented beginning of the Amsterdam school does not go back beyond 1507 and Jacob Cornelisz.; but there are some faint indications that the painter to whom I now direct attention was active in Amsterdam before Jacob. My starting-point is a panel, *The Death of the Virgin*, preserved in the Almshouse of the Seven Electors in that city (148, Plate 113). I think it likely that it was painted there (271). Stylistic criticism suggests a date of around 1500 with some assurance.

It is a wide panel, rather reminiscent of the renderings of this theme that go back to van der Goes¹. The bed with the dying Virgin stands on the right, moved quite deeply into the room, parallel to the picture surface. Three of the apostles form a group on the left, two of them busying themselves with a censer. The others are grouped about the bed, standing, sitting or kneeling. Peter wields an aspergillum, John holds a candle. One disciple is crouched before the bed, reading, three hold missals, one is weeping, others are praying, with hands joined, folded or raised.

Compared with van der Goes's composition of about 1480, this version is loose and asymmetrical. The chamber is lighted by a window in the left wall; the effect is enclosed and enclosing. This typically northern sense of privacy fits in with the unworldly puritan spirit and the sorrow of the death-bed scene. The panel is covered in turbid varnish, and its present air of chiaroscuro is probably deeper than it was originally.

One of the apostles is seen almost entirely from the back. The figures are of middle height and attired in heavy, plain garments that fall down straight for the most part. The lofty profile heads with broad cheeks, wide temple and large ears placed high and far back, are set on short necks, lowered and stretched forward a bit. The thick, lumpy noses overhang the narrow mouths, the corners of which turn down. The hands are large, with small palms, widest at the level of the finger roots, the conically shaped fingers extended in parallel. In overall shape they are oval, the fingertips being pressed together.

Another work by this master is an *Assumption of the Virgin*, kept in the Antwerp museum and therefore more readily studied (149, Plate 114). Its effect, by comparison, is more delicate, old-fashioned and constrained. It may have been done rather earlier, perhaps as early as 1490. Below stands the obliquely placed sacrophagus. The Virgin, lifted from it, stands ramrod-straight on the hands of two angels as four more support her above. To the fore two angels are kneeling. The vertical folds in the Virgin's bright gown mark the picture's central axis toward which the eight youthful angels face.

The Amsterdam *Death of the Virgin* is dominated by the aged and worn faces of workmen and peasants, but in the Antwerp panel we have occasion to glimpse

1. See Vol. IV, pp. 40 f.

this master's ideal of feminine beauty. We see this face in nine slightly differing versions—broad and rounded despite the lofty brow, the chin not very prominent, the mouth small, the short nose underlined, so to speak, by a patch of shadow. It is, all in all, a bright disc of a face, bearing an expression of maidenly modesty and chastity.

The painting is carefully executed, the palette cool and restricted. Up above, as a distant vision in the clouds, we glimpse the Almighty and Christ. Light, colour and landscape forms are used with a hesitant hand to transfigure the stiff and doll-like group.

On the back of the panel, painted and organized with the same care, we see five clerics at lower left—in the rôle of donors—looking up with devout longing to the Virgin kneeling, on the right, on the pedestal of a rocky outcropping. Still higher, on the left, kneels Christ as the Man of Sorrows, and on high in heaven the Almighty appears with four angels.

The John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia includes a picture by the Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin, an *Agony in the Garden* apparently done a bit later than the Antwerp panel (147, Plate 113). The centre of the approximately square painting is occupied by the sleeping apostles Peter and John. Farther back and higher up, the Saviour is shown kneeling. Still farther back the troop of soldiers approaches out of the deep dark on the right, while the Taking of Christ, with the Judas-kiss, is shown as a separate group opposite. Framing the scene in front are the donor and donatrix, kneeling on a lawn separated from the sleepers by a light-coloured pathway. Behind the former stands St. Peter, behind the latter (who is in clerical garb) a female saint.

The stocky, slow-moving figures seem a bit anxious and astonished in their faith and devotion. Their dark eyes bear soulful expressions. The donor's hand offers a particularly graphic example of the type that has been described.

Two panels that belong together and are related to the foregoing in types, formal idiom and expression—though far inferior in artistic value—have come into the Rijksmuseum from the Hoogendijk collection (281). One of them is a *Last Supper*, the other a *Resurrection* (145, Plate 112). In the former a donor is shown kneeling on the right. The lines are sharply marked and the execution is cursory. Some of the master's quirks assume almost the character of caricature. The hollow of the eye, for example, is grossly and almost pathologically exaggerated, with heavily lighted eyelids, shadows underneath and folds on the side nearest the ear.

A small and perfectly preserved altarpiece by this master is in the Glitza collection at Hamburg with an *Adoration* as the centrepiece (144). The tower of Utrecht is visible in the background of the outside right shutter. I am not yet willing to draw the obvious conclusion that Utrecht was the master's home. That town was the ecclesiastical centre for the whole region of Holland, and an Amsterdam painter might very well have included this architectural hallmark. Possibly the donor's family came from Utrecht.

In addition to several other panels, details of which are given in Catalogue F, I feel justified in ascribing two competent portraits to this master, a wide panel showing a couple (153, Plate 117) and a portrait of an elderly woman (152, Plate 116). A necklace with a cross of St. Anthony, worn by both women, suggests that

they both belonged to the same religious society.

Like many Dutch painters of this period, this master too seems occasionally to have made designs for stained glass. I recognize his style, in rather crude execution, in a small pane in the Berlin Schlossmuseum.

This master too enriches our view of the Dutch character. His constrained nature set down a private and moving record of devotion in sparse and modest form.

The Catalogues

68 CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF JAN MOSTAERT

1. (Plates 1-3) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Deposition*. Brussels museum, No. 537 (134 × 97.5—45, curved at the top). Shutters: *Christ Shown to the People* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*; verso, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; the donor with saints. From the collection of Count d'Oultremont de Warfusée. The coats of arms on the centrepiece are those of the van Adrichem and van der Laen families (291). Albert van Adrichem, born in 1475 in Alkmaar, married a lady from the van der Laen family about 1500. He became a magistrate in Haarlem and died there in 1555. St. Bavo, here represented, is a saint much venerated in Haarlem. Hulin (*Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition, No. 270) professed to recognize the painter's initials, B-V, embroidered on the dress of one of the pages, and was reluctant to accept the attribution of the altarpiece to Mostaert. The donor looks about 45 years old, hence the altarpiece would have been painted about 1520. See p. 15. • Shutters 140 × 45.5 and 139.5 × 45 cm.

2. (Plate 4) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1675 (72.5 × 57.5—21.5). The centrepiece is a free copy after the panel by Geertgen in the Staatliche Galerie, Vienna (See Vol. v, Plate 8). The shutters, of a higher quality and now alone on view, are almost certainly by Mostaert. They show the donor with St. Peter and the donatrix with St. Paul. On the versos of the shutters, the coats of arms of the Speyart van Woerden clan, as well as of the wife of one of the members of the family, with *Anno 1573*. The arms and the date are obviously later additions (301). See p. 19. • Now on loan to the Frans Hals museum, Haarlem, No. 660.

3. (Plate 5) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Judgment*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 168 (109 × 71—35, curved at the top). Wesendonk collection. Shown in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 200. The donors: on the left shutter, Wassenae van Duivenvoorde-Amstel (died 1510), on the right shutter, his wife, a member of the Alkemade family, whose parents and grandparents are shown kneeling in the centrepiece. See *Bulletin uitgegeven door den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, II, 1902-1903, pp. 86, 113. Probably painted shortly before 1510. The widow may have donated the altarpiece in memory of her husband and ancestors (311). See p. 16. • Rheinisches Landesmuseum. Centrepiece, 108.6 × 71.5 cm; shutters, 115.3 × 35.5 cm.

4. (Plate 6) *Diptych, Christ in Limbo*. Von Kühlmann collection, Berlin, the left panel only; the right one is in the Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (24 × 16 each). The donatrix on the right panel, possibly Mary of Burgundy, in a rather fanciful dress, was apparently added by another hand (321). • Left panel now in the

Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede; right panel in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), No. 224.

5. (Plate 7) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with Donors*. Brussels museum, No. 539a, b (78 × 36 each). The donor with St. Peter, his wife with St. Paul 1331.

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6. (Plate 8) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*. The donor with a prophet and angels, David with angel musicians. Cluny Museum, Paris. Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühhollländer in Frankreich*, Plate 11. Somewhat unusual in style. See p. 19 1341. • 63 × 27 cm each.

7. (Plate 9) *The Casting out of Hagar*. Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (94 × 131). Formerly in the Dr. Oertel collection, Munich. Doubtfully signed IM 1525. See p. 15. • The initials JM and the number 1525 have disappeared when the panel underwent a successful cleaning. • Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), No. 292.

8. (Plate 10) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1674 (49 × 35).

9. (Plate 10) *The Temptation of Christ*. Van Valkenburg collection, Amsterdam (50 × 65). • Now in the H.B.N. Ledeboer collection, Enschede; 53.5 × 63.5 cm.

10. (Plate 10) *Christ before Pilate*. Art market, Amsterdam (P. Cassirer, 1932, 46.5 × 32). Formerly in the collection of Sir John Ramsden, England. See p. 17. • Now in the G. Tillmann collection, Amsterdam. • Present location unknown.

11. (Plate 11) *Christ Shown to the People*, in half-length. Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (120.5 × 95.5) 1351. A similarly composed painting was described by van Mander. See p. 13. • No. 1739; 120 × 94 cm.

a. (Plate 11) Art market, Cologne (1930). A free replica, perhaps a copy. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 11) Art market, London (1912). A free replica, perhaps a copy, very much like a. • Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No. 2576; 89.8 × 69 cm.

12. (Plate 11) *Christ Shown to the People*. Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park. • Auctioned with the Spencer Churchill collection, London (Christie's), on 28th May 1965, No. 59; 30.4 × 22.8 cm.

13. (Plate 12) *The Crucifixion*. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, formerly at Northwick Park (143 × 106). See p. 18. • No. 411; 114.3 × 74.5 cm.

a. Oberbarnim village church (a bequest in 1877). A copy, with the family of the donor below in full width.

14. (Plate 13) *The Feast of Pentecost*. R. collection, Bruges (110 × 123). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 53 'M^e R., Bruges'. Described in Hulin's *Catalogue Critique* as the centrepiece of an altarpiece of the Rappaert family. The donor couple is shown kneeling. In an unfamiliar style, perhaps an early work. See p. 19. • Now in the Weissenbruch collection, Brussels.

15. (plate 14) *Head of Christ*, crowned with thorns, tondo. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1926, 27.75 in diameter). • Auctioned in Munich (Weinmüller), on 30th January 1941, No. 74.

16. (Plate 14) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, in bust-length, holding a bamboo staff. Pallavicini auction, London, May 1927, No. 8 (39 × 28). Probably identical with the picture sold in the Enea Lanfranconi auction at Lempertz, Cologne, in 1905. • Present location unknown.

o a. A similar somewhat damaged painting in the Bremmer collection in The Hague. • Present location unknown.

17. (Plate 14) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, in bust-length, holding a bamboo staff and a birch. National Gallery, London (Wagner bequest, 30 × 21). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 338 (Willett collection, Brighton) 1361. • No. 3900.

a. (Plate 14) Provincial museum, Burgos. A replica of equal merit 1371. • No. 221; 41 × 31 cm.

18. (Plate 14) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, in bust-length, with flying angels. Museo Civico, Verona, No. 382 (44 × 34). See Gr. Ring, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 7, 1914, pp. 263 ff. Described in an inventory of the Regent Margaret, without a mention of the author's name. • Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, No. 382.

a. (Plate 14) Wedells collection, Hamburg. A replica coinciding in every detail. • Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 761; 44.2 × 33.4 cm.

There are several more replicas and copies.

19. (Plate 15) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length (about 7 × 5). Bargello, Florence, Carrand collection. Somewhat unusual in style.

20. (Plate 15) *The Holy Family at Table*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 486 (37 × 24). Unusual in style. Possibly an early work. See p. 19 1381. • No. WRM 471.

21. (Plate 15) *The Head of St. John the Baptist* on a salver, surrounded by flying angels. National Gallery, London, No. 1080 (26 × 17) 1391.

a. Dijon museum. An old copy. • Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, No. 109; on copper, 41 × 32 cm.

22. *Donor with a Saint*, in half-length. Dansette collection, Brussels. • Present location unknown.

23. (Plate 16) *The Tree of Jesse*. Frau von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp near Haarlem. From the Meazza collection, Milan, and the Count Stroganoff collection, Rome. Shown in London in 1929, No. 14. The donatrix (a Poor Clare in a white habit), at lower left, was uncovered in 1930 (40). See p. 20. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 950 A 2.

24. (Plate 17) *St. Christopher*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 28 (106 × 140). See p. 17. • 108 × 142.2 cm.

25. (Plate 17) *Scene from the Conquest of America*, West Indian landscape. Art market, Amsterdam (Dr. Beets, 1930, 86 × 152). Formerly in the van Stolk collection, Haarlem. Described by van Mander. See Weiss, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1909, pp. 215 ff. See p. 18 (41). • Now art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker). • Now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, No. 629 (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague).

26. (Plate 18) *Joost van Bronckhorst*, Heer van Bleyswyck (?). Petit Palais, Paris, Tuck collection (43.5 × 29). Formerly in the Hainauer collection, Berlin. Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 223. The sitter is identified in a late inscription on the verso of the panel. The letter *ñ* (n) on the buttons, probably the sitter's initial, does not match his presumptive name (42). A Hunting scene is shown in the background landscape. • 43 × 28 cm.

27. (Plate 19) *Portrait of Charles V* (?). W. Goldman collection, New York (52 × 26, rounded at the top). Stillwell auction, New York, 1927. Judging from the sitter's age—if he is Charles V—the picture was painted about 1520. • Dated 1517. • Now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, No. 3209; 53 × 37 cm.

28. (Plate 19) *Philibert of Savoy*. Prado, Madrid, 1921a, 'Felipe el Hermoso'. There is some doubt as to the authenticity of this work. A portrait of the prince was presented to the Regent by *Jehan Masturd* in 1521 (see p. 12, above). Two of his portraits are described in Margaret's inventories (43). The Prado version does not correspond to the one that is described in detail, but may be identical with the other. If *faict au vis*, as stated in the document, the picture, or at least the sketch on which it was based, should have been done before 1504, the year of Philibert's death. See Hulin, *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition, under No. 340. • Now in the Museo de Santa Cruz de Toledo, Toledo (on loan from the Museo del Prado, Madrid); 101 × 74 cm.

29. (Plate 19) *Jan van Wassenaer* (1483-1523). Louvre, Paris, No. 2481 B (47 × 33). Shown at Bruges in 1907, No. 81. Probably painted as a pendant to the portrait of the wife, in Würzburg. • See No. 41 (44).

a. (Plate 19) Leyden museum, No. 131 (76 × 52.5). Formerly in the collection of Baron van Ittersum, Arnheim. A copy with the inscription: *Johan van Wassenaer starf A° 1523*. Shown at Bruges in 1907, No. 82. • No. 87a.

Jan van Wassenaer received the order of the Golden Fleece, with which he is

here shown, in 1516. The portrait must have been painted shortly before 1523, judging from the age of the sitter. In the register of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, he is listed as *Messire Jean, seigneur de Wassenare, vicomte de Leide*.

30. (Plate 20) *Portrait of a Moor*. Art market, Lucerne (Fischer) o Now in the Sir T. D. Barlow collection, London. • 32 × 22 cm.

31. (Plate 21) *Portrait of a Man*. Art market, New York (Kleinberger), rounded at the top. • Now in the St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo., No. 11:15; 41 × 32 cm.

32. (Plate 21) *Portrait of a Man*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 145 (77 × 55.5, rounded at the top). The old frame bears an inscription with the date 1535 (the third numeral damaged and indistinct). The date may not relate to the execution of the picture, but may have been added later, recording the sitter's death, for example. An armorial bearing appears in the background.

33. (Plate 21) *Portrait of a Man*. Art Museum, Worcester, U.S.A. (45 × 32.5). Formerly in Munich, sold at the Hoech auction in 1892, No. 94, attributed to Holbein. • No. 1921.182; 44.7 × 30.8 cm.

34. (Plate 21) *Portrait of a Man*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 591 (42 × 29). The initial A appears on the buttons. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

35. (Plate 22) *Portrait of a Man*, in half-length. Brussels museum, No. 538 (89 × 56). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 340. A theory as to the identity of the sitter is discussed by Hulin in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition 1451.

36. (Plate 23) *Portrait of a Man*. Auction at Muller, Amsterdam, 9th December 1902, No. 42 (38 × 27.5, rounded at the top). Original? • Present location unknown.

37. (Plate 23) *Portrait of an Elderly Man*. Copenhagen museum, No. 238a (40.5 × 27). With an armorial bearing showing three leaves and some small figures, in the background, including the Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl. Probably one half of a diptych 1461. See p. 19. • No. 482; 40 × 28.5 cm.

38. (Plate 23) *Portrait of a Man*. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, No. 51 (92 × 72). With St. Hubertus in the landscape background. See p. 18. • 96 × 76 cm.

39. (Plate 23) *Portrait of a Man*. Strahov monastery, Prague. A fragment (32.5 × 26.5). Dated: 153 (last numeral indistinct). The sitter is aged 48. See p. 14. • Now in the Národní Gallery, Prague, No. 0.7256.

40. (Vol. 1, Plate 61, G) *Jacobaea of Bavaria*, Countess of Holland (1401-1436).

Copenhagen museum, No. 105 (61 × 42.5). According to van Mander, Mostaert painted both the Countess and her husband. Probably after Jan van Eyck (see the drawing in the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt) 1471. See p. 14. • No. 483.

41. (Plate 25) *Justine van Wassenaeer*. Würzburg museum, No. 289 (Luitpold Museum, 45 × 34.5). The sitter was identified by Gr. Ring (*Repertorium*, 1910, p. 420) from a drawing in the Arras Codex (Giraudon, Photo No. 461). See the portrait of her husband, No. 29. • Now in the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, No. Z. 419 (on loan from the Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg); 46.7 × 34.5 cm.

42. (Plate 24) *Portrait of a Woman*. Art market, New York (Kleinberger). With St. Hubertus in the landscape background 1481. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1674A 1; 64 × 49.5 cm.

43. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Woman*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 2049 (48 × 32, rounded at the top). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 2052.

44. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Woman*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1925). Original? 1491. • Present location unknown.

45. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Woman*. Ringling collection, Sarasota, Florida (47 × 35, on canvas). With a flag in the right hand. • Now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., No. 204.

46. (Plate 26) *Portraits of a Couple*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker) (49 × 31 each, original frame, a trefoil arch above). Formerly in the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin (Nos. 111 and 112 in the auction). • Auctioned with the A. W. Erickson collection, New York (Parke-Bernet), on 15th November 1961, Nos. 1, 2.

47. (Plate 26) *Portraits of a Couple*. Czartoriski collection, Goluchov, Poland. • Presumed Charles VIII and Anne de Bretagne; now in a private collection, U.S.A.; 42 × 32.5 cm.

48. (Plate 27) *Portraits of a Couple*. Art market, Berlin (Matthiesen, 1932, 52 × 35.5 each, rounded at the top) 1501. • Braunschweig collection, Hamburg. • Sold in Berlin (Lepke), on 28th March 1935, No. 1819.

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR

49. (Plates 28, 29) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Mauritshuis, The Hague (new acquisition, 47 × 36—14, rounded at the top). On the versos of

the shutters, Sts. Anthony and Adrian, in a different style (added in Bruges). In the centre twice, below to the right and to the left, a sign composed of v and A, interlocked. It appears also twice on the versos of the shutters. See p. 25. • Now on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1538 B 3.

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50. (Plates 30, 31) Four panels with two female saints each. Art market, London (Colnaghi); two of the panels are from the Northbrook collection. The other two in the S. R. Guggenheim collection, New York (37 × 24 each). The saints in the two pictures from the Northbrook collection are Cecilia, Margaret, Agatha and Dorothea (?) 1511, in the other two pictures, Ursula, Godeleva 1521, Catherine and Agnes. See p. 26. • The panels from the Northbrook collection are now in a private collection, England; the other ones on the London art market (Hallsborough Gallery); 36.2 × 24 cm each.

51. (Plate 32) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Taking of Christ.* Art Market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker), from the Weinberger collection, Vienna. *Christ in Limbo.* Formerly in the Hoschek collection, Prague (60 × 24 each). • *The Taking of Christ* is now on the New York art market (Newhouse Galleries); 63 × 26 cm. The location of the other panel is unknown.

52. (Plate 32) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Rejection of Joachim's Sacrifice, The Encounter at the Golden Gate.* Tietje collection, Amsterdam (72.5 × 25.5 each). • Now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, No. 677 (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague).

53. (Plate 33) *A Pair of Shutters from a Triptych, with the donor's family.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 48 (102 × 36 each). On the versos, the arms of the Soutelande and Gael families 1531. Crude execution. • No. 1538 B 2.

54. (Plate 34) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Circumcision; verso, The Resurrection. Christ among the Doctors; verso, Christ in Limbo.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 45, 46 (133.5 × 83 each). Rather crude in execution, probably done with the aid of students 1541.

55. (Plates 35, 36) *The Seven Mercies.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 46a (101 × 55.5 each). Dated 1504 in two places. From the church of St. Lawrence in Alkmaar (acquired in 1918). The first scene shows a tiny lion holding a coat of arms, on which a sign formed of two A's is seen. See p. 24. • No. 1538 B 1.

56. (Plate 37) *The Pilgrimage to Emmaus.* Cremer collection, Dortmund (present location unknown, 112 × 52). Rather unfamiliar in style.

57. (Plate 37) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Four Saints* and two nuns as donors 1551. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels (60 × 39). See p. 28. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels No. 1125; 60.3 × 41.8 cm.

58. (Plate 37) *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Art market, Amsterdam, 1932 (44 × 42). From the Northbrook collection. After Dürer's woodcut. See p. 28.
● Present location unknown.

59. (Plates 38, 39). *Portraits of a Couple*. Count Jan van Egmond and his wife (1561. Friedsam collection, New York (41 × 24 each, rounded at the top). The sitters have been identified from drawings in the Arras Codex. See p. 27. ● Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Nos. 32.100.122 and 32.100.118. The portrait of Jan has been transferred to canvas, 42.9 × 26 cm; the other panel is 49 × 31.7 cm (with the original frame).

59 I. A series of portraits of members of the van Naeldwijck family (Plate 40), is exhibited on loan at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Some of these pictures are in a poor state of preservation. Schmidt-Degener has ascribed them to the Master of Alkmaar, probably correctly (1571). ● Three of these portraits (II. Hendrick Willemsz., III. Willem Hendricksz., VI. Hendrick Willemsz.) now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Nos. 132, 133, 136 (on loan from the Townhall of Naaldwijk); three (IV. Hendrick Willemsz., V. Willem Hendricksz., VII. Willeme Hendricksdochter) in the Townhall of Naaldwijk; 82 × 56.5 cm each.

59 II. A puzzling legendary scene in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 351) (Plate 41) is given to the master by Valentiner (1581). This remarkable panel displays the master's style in some features, especially the lighting, but differs in others, especially the types. ● 73.7 × 35.6 cm.

59 III. A *Portrait of a Woman* (Plate 41), in the Lambeaux collection, Brussels, is reproduced by Pierron, in *Les Mostaert*, opposite p. 98. Judging solely from the reproduction, it seems to be a work by the master. ● Present location unknown.

CATALOGUE C: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF DELFT

60. (Plates 42-44) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Lamentation*; on the versos, in grisaille, *The Virgin and St. Augustine*, *St. Peter and the Magdalene*. National Gallery, London, No. 2922 (97 × 105-48). From the Earl Brownlow collection. ● Centrepiece, 98 × 105.5 cm; shutters, 102.5 × 49.5 cm.

61. (Plate 45) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. On the shutters, the family of the donor. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 492 (185 × 107-43). On the versos in grisaille, *St. Christopher* and a coat of arms; *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. A Workshop production. See p. 31. ● No. 477; centrepiece, 186 × 106 cm; shutters, 184 × 42 cm.

62. (Plates 46, 47) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Family*, with female saints and angels. On the shutters, the donor couple (1591. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,

No. 774a. On loan from Mr. van Heck ($84.5 \times 68-30$). See p. 31. • Now property of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 15381 1.

63. (Plate 48, 49) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*, with the donor, Dirk van Beest. Nerée van Babberich collection (presently on show at the Rotterdam museum). On the verso, *St. Jerome*. The centrepiece in the style of the Master of Frankfurt 1601. About the inscription, the donor, etc. see p. 30. • Now in the Franz Franzen collection, Cologne.

64. (Plate 50) *The Lamentation*. Library of Christ Church, Oxford, No. 330 (114×99). • No. JBS 232; 117×101.8 cm.

65. (Plate 51) *Virgin and Child with St. Bernard*. Utrecht museum (46×31.5). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Utrecht*. See p. 31 1611. • Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 59; 47×32 cm.

66. (Plate 51) *The Virgin and St. John*. A fragment from a panel of the Passion. Art market, Rotterdam (24×20). • Now in the D. A. J. Kessler collection, Brussels. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1538 L 2; 23.5×18.2 cm.

The following paintings may be considered works of the Master of Delft with more or less assurance.

66 I. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. No. 430. *Allegory on the Vanity of Life* (Plate 52). Partly in a bad state of preservation. The figures in the background are typical of the master. • No. 1538 T 1; 88×104.5 cm.

66 II. Art market, London (Art Collectors Association, 1922). *The Crucifixion* (Plate 52) (Known to me only in reproduction). • Present location unknown.

66 III. Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1912). *St. Jerome*. Perhaps a late work of the master. • Present location unknown.

66 IV. Kestner Museum, Hanover. *Virgin and Child with Sts. Anne, Catherine and Barbara* (Plate 52). Disfigured by overpainting 1621. • Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, No. 185; 68.5×50 cm.

66 V. Art market, Munich (Caspari). *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi* (Plate 53). A work of stature, with some strange features. Possibly an early work. • Now in a private collection, Switzerland; $35.5 \times 26-14$ cm.

66 VI. Turin museum. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion* (Plate 53). A work of stature, departing in some features. • The altarpiece in Turin listed among the doubtful works (reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*, Pls. XXVI, XXVII) is probably from another hand, the same as the *Crucifixion* in the Städel Institut in Frankfurt 1631. • No. 362; $104 \times 61-26$ cm.

CATALOGUE D: THE PAINTINGS OF CORNELIS
ENGELBRECHTSEN

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67. (Plates 54, 55) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Elisha at the River Jordan, Healing the Captain Naaman*. On the versos, two male saints (64). Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 660, 661 (59 × 38—17, rounded at the top). See p. 40. • No. 1007-1009.

68. (Plate 58) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Nativity*. On each shutter, a donatrix with saints, and coats of arms. Below a half-obliterated inscription. Pelletier collection, Paris. Present location unknown (65).

69. (Plates 56, 57) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Feeding of the Five Thousand*. Art market, Berlin (Matthiesen gallery, 113 × 63—50). On the shutters, which are too wide for a folding altarpiece, the family of the donor, with Sts. Paul and Barbara (66). On the versos, which are damaged, holy monks. See pp. 37f. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. • 115 × 64—51 cm. Lost in 1945.

70. (Plate 58) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Left, *The Disrobing of Christ*; right, *The Resurrection*. Utrecht museum (88.5 × 57—28, rounded at the top). The frame bears paintings in grisaille. Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Utrecht*, Pl. 11. • Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 106.

71. (Plates 60-62) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Left, *Abraham's Sacrifice*; right, *The Serpent of Brass*; left verso, *The Disrobing of Christ*; right verso, *The Mocking of Christ*. On the predella, the body of Adam; the donor Jacob Maertensz. with St. Martin; five nuns with St. Augustine. Municipal museum, Leyden, No. 93 (180 × 146—63.5, the predella 16.5 high). Described by van Mander. From the Marienpoel convent near Leyden. See p. 35.

72. (Plate 59) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Resurrection*. Grisaille paintings in the spandrels. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer). Formerly in the Riedinger collection, Augsburg. Similar to the altarpiece in Utrecht (No. 70) (67). Probably the triptych now in the F. Nava collection, Catania (Sicily).

73. (Plate 63) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Burchardt-Bachofen collection, (74 × 83, joined into one panel). From the von Seidlitz collection, Dresden. • No. 1248; brought by restoration to its original form, 74 × 44—17 cm.

74. (Plates 64, 65) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. On the shutters, the donor, Jacob Maertensz., with Sts. James and Martin and the donatrix, supposedly Margaretha Maertensdr., with St. Cecilia and the Magdalene; versos, Sts. Apollonia, Gertrude, Agatha and Agnes. Municipal museum, Leyden, No. 94 (124.5 × 122.5—55.5). Described by van Mander. From the Marienpoel convent, near Leyden. See p. 36.

75. (Plate 66) *Shutters of the van Lockhorst Altarpiece*. Left (originally right), the three daughters of Willem van der Does and Hendrika van Poelgeest, who married Jan van Lockhorst, Jacob Heermans van Oegstgeest and Jan Kerstantsz. Stoop, with the Magdalene; left, the three husbands of the donatrices; centre, van Lockhorst, with St. George. Collection of Count van Limburg-Stirum, Villa Offem, Noordwijk (162.5 × 55.5 each, curved at the top). Shown in Utrecht in 1913, No. 164. See J. C. Overvoorde, *Bulletin van de Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, 2nd Series, Vol. 4, 1911, p. 303. The versos—in a poor state of preservation—show coats of arms (168) and a several times renewed and badly damaged inscription: *Cornelius E...eidennis*. See p. 39 (169). • Now in the Stedelijk museum 'De Lakenhal', Leyden, No. 622.

76. (Plate 67) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. Christ Shown to the People, The Disrobing of Christ*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. En 3 St, 2 (41 × 22 each). Perhaps a workshop production. • No. 11.193 A, B.

77. (Plate 67) *Two Tondi. Gideon's Prayer, David and Abigail*. Bargello, Florence, Carrand collection. Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*, Pls. 19, 20. Rather unfamiliar, perhaps an early work. • Nos. 2056 c, 2057 c; Diameter 19 cm.

78. (Plate 68) *The Casting out of Hagar*. Von Auspitz collection, Vienna. Formerly F. Lippmann collection, Berlin (34.5 × 47), auctioned in 1912, No. 37 (701.0 Now in the Staatliche Galerie, Vienna. • No. 6820.

79. (Plate 68) *Betrothal of the Virgin*. Count Medem collection, Dresden (37 × 41). See p. 40. • Later in the Bosman collection, Brussels.

80. (Plate 69) *Christ Summoning St. Matthew*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 609 (51 × 77). On the purse of the receiver of customs, the Burgundy-Habsburg arms between the red keys of the arms of the town of Leyden (1711). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

81. (Plate 69) *Christ in the House of Lazarus*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 905a (54 × 44). • No. 905 A 2.

82. (Plate 69) *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 904a (55 × 43). • No. 905 A 1.

83. (Plate 70) *The Taking of Christ*. Auctioned at Sangiorgi, Rome, 1895, No. 3 (70 × 57). Judged only from the poor reproduction in the catalogue. • Present location unknown.

84. (Plate 70) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 31 × 23). • Auctioned in Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), on 22nd-23rd October 1951, No. 103; 33 × 25 cm.

85. (Plate 70) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1212 (38 × 41). The donatrix was a nun at the Marienpoel convent, for which Engelbrechtsen also painted his two main altarpieces. Rather crude in execution, possibly a workshop production. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

86. (Plate 70) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Formerly in the Weber collection, Hamburg (53 × 36). Pieced out. A possible workshop production. • Auctioned in Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), on 22nd June 1939, No. 13.

87. (Plate 71) *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. Antwerp museum, No. 532, Ertborn collection (51 × 41). The donatrix, a nun from the Marienpoel convent, is shown with St. Augustine. A possible workshop production.

88. (Plate 71) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, the Magdalene, St. John the Evangelist, St. John the Baptist and St. Peter. Art market, Paris (Weinberger, 1931). From the Pelletier collection. • Present location unknown.

89. (Plate 71) *Christ on the Cross*. National Museum, Stockholm, No. 264 (55 × 46). • Not 'school' as mentioned in the catalogue.

90. (Plate 72) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John, a pair of donors, Sts. Peter and Martha. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. En 3-1 (61 × 88). • No. 88.3.88.

91. (Plate 72) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, Sts. John, Barbara, Cecilia (?), Peter, Francis and Jerome. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 905 (25 × 32.5). From the convent of the order of St. Bridget at Utrecht.

92. (Plate 73) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, the Magdalene and Sts. John, Peter, Augustine, Lawrence, Francis, Barbara, Cecilia (?) and Catherine. Art market, Berlin (Nebehay, 20 × 27.5). Formerly in the Clavé von Bouhaben collection, Cologne, and the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

93. (Plate 73) *The Deposition*. Petri collection, Antwerp (42.5 × 33.5). Shown in Utrecht in 1913, No. 166. From the Dollfuss collection, Paris. • Now in the art market, Munich (J. Böhler).

94. (Plate 74) *The Lamentation*, with the donor's family. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 1468 (115 × 124).

95. (Plate 74) *The Lamentation*. Suermondt Museum, Aachen, No. 39 (45 × 35).

96. (Plate 75) *The Lamentation*. Ghent museum, No. 75 (71 × 40, rounded at the top). From a Ghent convent.

97. *The Lamentation*. Collection of the Duke of Norfolk, Sion House (80 × 65). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 244. The donatrix, a nun at the Marienpoel convent is shown with Sts. Augustine and Catherine. See Nos. 85 (Berlin) and 87 (Antwerp). o Duke of Northumberland, not Norfolk. • Present location unknown.

98. (Plate 76) *The Resurrection*. Private collection, Madrid (rounded at the top). Possibly a workshop production. • Present location unknown.

99. (Plate 76) *Christ with St. John the Baptist, Apostles and Heroes of the Old Covenant: Abraham and David*. J. Kreuger collection, New York, from the Flersheim collection, Paris (23.5 × 42.5). Shown in Utrecht in 1913, No. 165. o Auctioned in 1932. • Afterwards (1948) in the Warnenck collection, Stockholm.

100. (Plate 76) *Virgin and Child with Two Saints*. Veidelek collection, Prague (34 × 28, cropped at the top). • Now in the Národní Gallery, Prague, No. 0.1361; 34.5 × 28.5 cm.

101. (Plate 77) *St. John the Baptist*, in bust-length with a landscape in the background. Art market, London (Hofer, 1913, 32.5 × 57.5). • Present location unknown.

102. (Plate 77) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Dresden gallery, No. 843 (tondo, 24.5 in diameter) 1721.

103. (Plate 77) *St. Barbara*, in half-length. Fragment. Dr. Oertel collection, Munich. • Present location unknown.

104. (Plate 77) *St. John and the Magdalene*. Edm. de Rothschild collection, Paris. See plate in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Frankreich*. Tondo. • Present location unknown.

105. (Plate 77) *The Magdalene and St. John the Baptist*, at knee-length (originally probably full-length). Suermondt Museum, Aachen, No. 98 (33 × 24, oval, originally probably larger and rectangular). Shown in Utrecht in 1913, No. 22. • No. 109.

106. (Plate 78) *A Man and a Woman*, in bust-length. Budapest gallery (tondo, 30 in diameter). Shown in Utrecht, in 1913, No. 21. Auction of the Brunswick collection, Vienna, 1902. Most probably not round originally. The subjects may be saints 1731. • No. 2231; diameter 23.5 cm (with the original frame 31.5 cm).

107. (Plate 79). *Sts. Constantine and Helen*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 1469 (87 × 56). • No. 1458.

108. (Plate 78) *A Saint on Horseback*, at the feet of the horse a vanquished heretic. Art market, London (Colnaghi, 36 × 26). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 164. The

horse after Dürer's engraving, *Knight, Death and Devil*. The painting must have been done after 1513-1741. • Now in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.; 36.7 × 29.1 cm.

109. (Plate 80) *Portraits of a Couple*. Brussels museum, Nos. 570, 571 (56 × 34 each, rounded at the top). Both panels dated 1518. See Gr. Ring, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Niederländischer Bildnismalerei*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 30, where the attribution is suggested 1751. • 56 × 34.5 and 56.5 × 34.5 cm.

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CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

110. (Plates 81-83) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Barnes collection, Philadelphia (76 × 45—18, rounded at the top). About 1510. See p. 52. • Now in the Barnes Foundation Museum of Art, Merion, Penna.

111. (Plates 84-85) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Healing of the Blind Man of Jericho*. Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 468. Transferred from wood to canvas (117 × 149—89.5 × 33.8). The shutters subsequently joined to the centrepiece. Versos, figures holding armorial bearings. Signed below on the centrepiece. According to van Mander this work was owned by Hendrik Goltzius and dated 1531. The date probably appeared on a part of the painting that was destroyed when it was transferred from wood to canvas. The donors have been identified by the coats of arms as Jacob Florisz. van Montfort (died in Leyden in 1554) and his wife Dirckge Boelen van Lindeburgh (died in 1566). See Kekule von Stradonitz, *Museumskunde*, Vol. 6, 1910, pp. 185 ff., and Beets, *Oud Holland*, 1910, pp. 155 ff. See p. 56 1761. • No. 407; centrepiece, 115.7 × 150.3 cm; shutters, 89.5 × 33 cm.

a. (Plate 85) Suermondt Museum, Aachen, No. 472 (114 × 84—32). A free replica, slightly reminiscent of the style of van Scorel.

112. (Plate 86) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Supper*. Left, *The Saviour with His Disciples*; right, *The Washing of the Feet*. Suermondt Museum, Aachen, No. 273 (57 × 44—18). On the versos, in grisaille, *Abraham and Melchisedek* (?). About 1510.

113. (Plates 87-90) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Judgment*. On the versos of the shutters, Sts. Peter and Paul. Leyden museum (271 × 185—76). Described by van Mander. Commissioned in 1526 (see Dülberg, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 22, 1899, pp. 30 ff.). See p. 54 1771. • No. 244; centrepiece, 269.5 × 184.8 cm; shutters, 265 × 76.5 cm (reverse of the shutters, 264 × 76 cm).

114. (Plate 91) *Diptych. Virgin and Child and the Magdalene with a Donor*; versos, *The Annunciation*. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 148 and 149 (50 × 68—42 × 29). The two panels were joined into one at a later date. Part of the painted surface was destroyed when the versos were sawn off. The two front panels were enlarged

in the 17th century, but this has been recently undone, although the transformation of the donor into a St. Joseph made at the time has been retained. Signed in the centre and dated 1522. According to van Mander, the work was owned by the Emperor Rudolph II, who acquired it from Frans Hoogstraet in Leyden. See p. 54. • Nos. 742, 7713.

115. (Plate 92) *Lot and His Daughters*. Louvre, Paris. No. 2640a (58 × 34). About 1509. See p. 51.

116. (Plate 93) *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*. Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 80 (195 × 240), water colour on canvas. Signed L 1527. See p. 56. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, William K. Richardson Fund, Boston, Mass., No. 54.1432.

117. (Plate 94) *The Scorning of Job*. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (40 × 31). About 1510. • Now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Lee Collection, London.

118. (Plate 94) *Susanna before the Judge*. Kunsthalle, Bremen, No. 62 (34 × 46). About 1509. • Lost in the Second World War.

119. (Plate 95) *Susanna before the Judge (?)* 1781. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam (25 × 35). About 1509. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2455.

120. (Plate 96) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Ryerson collection, Chicago (27 × 33.5). About 1510. See p. 51. There are several replicas of this composition, painted oddly enough, by Bruges painters. • Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. A. Ryerson Collection, Chicago, Ill., No. 33.1045; 28.6 × 35.7 cm.

121. (Plate 96) *The Agony in the Garden*. Matsvansky collection, Vienna (48 × 38). Von Frimmel (*Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, Vol. 4, 1907, p. 37), gives this panel to the master, apparently correctly. I am not familiar with this work. Signed L and 1517 (?). The third numeral of the date is illegible, but 1517 seems plausible to me 1791. • Present location unknown.

122. (Plate 97) *Calvary*. Verona museum (44 × 34.5). Dülberg, *Frühholänder*, Pl. 32. The initial L appearing in this picture may or may not be authentic. In a bad state of preservation. In parts unfamiliar in style. • Museo di Castelvechio, No. 352.

123. (Plate 97) *The Last Judgment*. New York Historical Society, No. D-43 (rounded at the top, 101 × 79). Apparently correctly ascribed to the master by Valentiner. About 1511 (?), particularly close in style to C. Engelbrechtsz. (*Kunstwanderer*, 1919, pp. 117 ff.) 1801.

124. (Plate 98) *Virgin and Child*. Oslo museum, Langaard collection (24 × 21). From the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin. About 1528. See p. 54. A study for this work is in the British Museum, London. • National Gallery, Christian Langaard Collection.

125. (Plate 99) *Virgin and Child*. Kunstgewerbe-Museum, Cologne, Clemens collection. Original? About 1525. A panel with this same composition, with a St. Joseph added at the left, is in a Berlin private collection. • Now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. KGM A 1075; 64.5 × 52 cm.

126. (Plate 99) *Virgin and Child*. Schloss collection, Paris (33 × 26). About 1526. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1452 A 1; 35 × 27.5 cm.

127. (Plate 100) *Virgin and Child with Angels*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 584B (74 × 44, rounded at the top). About 1517. See p. 54. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

128. (Plate 101) *Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist*. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, 28 × 23). About 1510 (1811). • In 1963 on the art market, New York (Schaeffer).

129. (Plate 101) *Salome Receiving the Head of St. John the Baptist*. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, No. 413 (Valentiner's catalogue, 30 × 22). Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 272. The shutters with inscriptions on the inside were added at a later date. About 1510. • 30.8 × 23.2 cm.

130. (Plate 102) *St. Andrew*, in half-length. Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (22 × 17). About 1511. • No. 1478.

131. (Plate 103) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Brussels museum, No. 780 (66 × 71). About 1516. See p. 52.

132. (Plate 102) *St. Jerome*, Chastising himself. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 584a (27 × 31). About 1516. See p. 54. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

133. (Plate 102) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp near Haarlem, tondo (21 in diameter). After a woodcut by Hans Burgmair (B. 24—1507). Signed: L. In the manner of Engelbrechtsz. About 1511.

134. (Plate 104) *The Sermon in the Church*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1452 (133 × 97). Signed L below to the right. Perhaps a scene from the legend of St. Francis. Unequal in execution, painted with the aid of Pieter Cornelisz. (?), the son of Engelbrechtsz. Three panels at Hampton Court (Plate 104) are close in style and may be the work of Pieter Cornelisz. See p. 53. About 1517 (1821).

135. (Plate 105) *Self-portrait*. Brunswick museum, No. 160 (29 × 22). Engraved by A. Stock with an inscription identifying the master and giving his age as 15. See p. 47 1831.

136. (Plate 105) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Groningen museum (rounded at the top). About 1512 1841. • No. 384; 24 × 15 cm.

137. (Plate 105) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (26 × 21). About 1530 1851. • Now in the Mrs. G. E. Naylor collection, London.

138. (Plate 106) *Portrait of a Man*. National Gallery, London (38 × 35). The age of the sitter is given as 38 on a sheet of paper in his hand. About 1520 1861. • No. 3604; 46.5 × 40.5 cm.

139. (Plate 107) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Baron Thyssen, Schloss Rohoncz (25 × 22). Signed and dated 1511. Shown at Bruges in 1902, No. 257. • Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), No. 164.

140. (Plate 108) *A Game of Chess*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 574a (27 × 35). About 1508. See p. 50. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

141. (Plate 109) *The Card Players*. Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House (33.5 × 47.5). A signature, *Lucas—van Leyden P* was added later. About 1514. • 36 × 46 cm.

142. (Plate 109) *A Game of Cards*, five men and three women. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 55 × 61). About 1520. See p. 54. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection, Washington, D.C., No. 1387.

143. (Plate 110). *A Party*. Nantes museum, No. 679 (24 × 31). Original? The composition is similar to the Berlin *Game of Chess* 1871. • No. 476.

CATALOGUE F: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

144. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple*; versos, the donor with St. Andrew, his wife with St. John the Evangelist. Glitza collection, Hamburg (55 × 52—21.5). See p. 66. • Present location unknown.

145. (Plate 112) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Last Supper, The Resurrection*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (53 × 65.5 each). See p. 66. • Nos. 1538 D 2, 1538 D 3; 51.5 × 63.5 and 53 × 65.5 cm.

146. *The Adoration of the Magi*, fragment with two kings and suite. J. Porges collection, Paris, present location unknown. Rather crude and late.

147. (Plate 113) *The Agony in the Garden*, with two donors. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (84 × 72). • No. 751; 82.8 × 72.8 cm.

148. (Plate 113) *Death of the Virgin*. Almshouse of the Seven Electors, Amsterdam (58 × 78). See p. 65 1881. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1538 D 1.

149. (Plate 114) *The Assumption of the Virgin*. Antwerp museum, No. 533, 534, Ertborn collection (123 × 47). On the verso, the Virgin, Christ as the Man of Sorrows and a clerical donor. See p. 65.

150. (Plate 115) *Shutter* (fragment). Five portraits of donors with a holy bishop and St. Peter. Art market, Berlin (1931). • Present location unknown; 44 × 32 cm.

151. (Plate 115) *The Legend of St. George*. Kestner Museum, Hanover, No. 106. According to Culemann, this work comes from St. George's chapel in Bruges. Some departures. • Now in the Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Hanover, No. 401; 83 × 73 cm.

152. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Woman*, fragment of an altarpiece shutter. Art market, Amsterdam (N. Beets). • Now in the Mrs. N. Boon-van Leer collection, Amsterdam; 24 × 19.5 cm.

153. (Plate 117) *Double Portrait of a Couple*. Art market, London (1923, 28 × 27). On the verso the names of the sitters: *Dirck B...van Amerongen..* and the dates 1527 and 1549, probably recording the death dates of the sitters. The woman bears a St. Anthony Cross on her necklace, as does the woman in No. 52. 1891. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2464; 21.5 × 38.5 cm.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

JAN MOSTAERT

Supp. 154 (Plate 118) *Portraits of a Couple*. Church of St. Dymphna, Gheel. Hendrik van Merode and his Wife. About 1525. Published by J. Held, in *Pantheon*, 1936, pp. 93-96 (27 × 17 each).

Supp. 155. (Plate 118) *Portrait of a Woman*. Rosenthal collection, Bern (?), auctioned in London at Sotheby's in 1937 (32.2 × 28.5). • On 29th April 1937, No. 118.

Supp. 156. (Plate 119) *Portraits of a Couple*. Art market, Munich (Heinemann Gallery, rounded at the top, 54×36 each). • Now in the Mrs. L. Thurkow-van Huffel collection, The Hague.

Supp. 157 (Plate 119) *Eve with Four Children*. Art market, London (Colnaghi, 1935). • Now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., No. 946; 36.8×28.3 cm.

THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR

Supp. 158. (Plate 121) *Fragment of an Altarpiece Shutter* with a group of donors. Museum Twenthe, Enschede (42×27.5). • No. 38.

Supp. 159. (Plate 121) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, angels, a donor and Joseph. Collection of Marquess of Bute, London (52×36.8). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 160. (Plate 121) *Virgin and Child*, with St. Catherine and a female saint, in bust-length. Art market, New York (A. Seligmann, Rey & Co., 1936, 21×39). • Now in the Carel Goldschmidt collection, Mount Kisco, N.Y.

THE MASTER OF DELFT

Supp. 161 (Plate 122) *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Art market, Dieren (Katz, 61.5×41.5). • Now in the Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof', Delft (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague); 64×43.5 cm.

The *Virgin and Child* with angel musicians, which was exhibited as by the Master of Delft in 1936 in Rotterdam (No. 76a), is by another hand 1901.

CORNELIS ENGELBRECHTSZ.

Supp. 162. (Plate 123) *The Preparations for the Crucifixion*. Art market, Paris (Wendland). From the A. Bossy collection. • In 1942 on the art market, Paris (Mme. J. Vuyck); 22.5×15 cm.

Supp. 163. (Plate 123) *Christ on the Cross*, with Mourners. Art market, Amsterdam (Schretlen, 44×34.5). • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2315 (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague).

Supp. 164. (Plate 123) *Portrait of a Man*. Pinakothek, Munich (Depot). Formerly in the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg 1911. • Now in the Germanisches

Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, No. GM 40; 31.7 × 20.8 cm.

Supp. 165. (Plate 123) *Portrait of a Man*. Schloss Rohoncz collection (Thyssen), Lugano. From the Harrach collection, Vienna (33 × 22). Probably not by Jacob Cornelisz., under whose name the picture is often associated. • Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), No. 92.

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Supp. 166. (Plate 123) *Portrait of Heer Jan van Eden as a Knight*. Antwerp museum, No. 848 (31 × 21). Dated 1525. Attributed erroneously to Gossart.

The *Holy Family* of the H. Larsen collection, Wassenaar, exhibited in Rotterdam in 1936 under No. 66a, is not by Cornelis Engelbrechtsz., but belongs to the group of the Antwerp mannerists 1921.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Supp. 167. (Plate 124) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Feeding of the Ten Thousand*. Coblenz museum (76 × 44—18.5). In a poor state of preservation, difficult to judge, apparently done about 1510 1931. • Afterwards in the Bob Jones University Collection of Sacred Art, Greenville, S.C.; 74.3 × 46.5—18.5 cm.

Supp. 168. (Plate 93) *Lot and His Daughters*. Two free replicas of the painting in the Louvre (No. 115) corresponding to each other, have been discovered. The best (Supp. 168 I, Plate 93) now in the van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam (32.5 × 45), the other (Supp. 168 II) (Plate 93) in the Kleiweg de Zwaan collection, Amsterdam (30 × 41). • The first replica is now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2456; the second in a private collection in Switzerland.

Supp. 169. (Plate 125) *Lot and His Daughters*. National Gallery, London, No. 3459 (33 × 25). This unpretentious picture could be a work of Lucas from the period around 1509. • 32.5 × 23 cm.

Supp. 170. (Plate 125) *St. Paul*, in half-length, a fragment (?). Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1936, 31 × 22). About 1520. • Now in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., No. 1961.52; 33 × 22.5 cm.

Supp. 171. (Plate 111) *The Card Players*, two men and a woman. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, 1935, 42 × 51). About 1512 1941. • Now in the Late Dr. A. F. Philips collection, Eindhoven (Netherlands).

Supp. 172. (Plate 110) *A Party*. A replica of approximately equal merit of the Nantes picture (No. 143) has been discovered in private ownership, Paris. • Now in the Musée National du Louvre, Paris, No. R.F. 1962-17; 24 × 30.5 cm.

Supp. 173. (Plate 125) *Portrait of a Woman*, in bust-length. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam (26 × 24). Probably given rightly to the master. About 1518 (?).

• Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2457.

Supp. 174. *Fragment of an Altarpiece Shutter*, female saints with donatrices. Bollert collection, Berlin. Pendant to No. 150. • Present location unknown.

Supp. 175. (Plate 127) *Christ on the Cross*, with saints; below, four small scenes from the Passion. H. Oppenheimer auction, London, 1936 (29 × 28). Unusually clear and elegant. • Present location unknown; 29.2 × 29.2 cm.

ADDENDA

• Add. 176. (Plate 120) *The Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah*. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inv. No. St. 13, St. 14; 100 × 53 cm. Jan Mostaert. Cf. *Jaarverslag Stichting Museum Boymans*, 1939-1941, p. 5.

• Add. 177. (Plate 120) *Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Angels*. Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome; 67 × 53 cm. (57.5 × 40 cm, without frame). Jan Mostaert. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 460-462.

• Add. 178. (Plate 120) *Christ Shown to the People*, with a donor and St. Jerome. St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.; 55.5 × 46 cm. Jan Mostaert. Cf. H. Gerson, *Van Geertgen tot Frans Hals, De Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, Deel I, Amsterdam, 1950, p. 17.

• Add. 179. (Plate 126) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Worship of the Golden Calf*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1452 A 2; centrepiece, 93 × 67 cm; shutters, 91 × 30 cm. Lucas van Leyden. Cf. N. Beets, 'De Dans om het Gouden Kalf. Een hervonden triptiek van Lucas van Leyden', in *Oud-Holland*, LXVII, 1952, pp. 183-199.

○ Add. 180. (Plate 126) *The Young Bacchus with Two Playmates*. Vienna, Mrs. Anna Payer collection; 19 × 27 cm. Lucas van Leyden. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden*, edited by F. Winkler, Berlin, 1963, p. 66-67.

○ Add. 181. (Plate 111) *The Card Players*. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), No. 164A; 28.9 × 39.4 cm. Lucas van Leyden. Cf. Friedländer, *loc. cit.*, 1963, p. 52.

The North Netherlandish masters dealt with by Friedländer in this volume were brought together on the ground of their more or less coincident careers in the first three decades of the 16th century, within a region that more or less covers the present Dutch provinces of North and South Holland. The only study comparable with Friedländer's work is the five-volume history of North Netherlandish painting by Hoogewerff 1951. His concept, however, differs from that of Friedländer, in as much as he seeks to present an overall survey that takes into account book illustration and mural painting, as well as panel painting, and that covers not only North and South Holland, but also the other Netherlandish provinces. If Friedländer sees Haarlem in particular as the well-spring of North Netherlandish painting, Hoogewerff, and among others Grete Ring 1961 and Boon 1971, push the rôles of the episcopal town of Utrecht and of the Lower Rhine region more to the fore. While Friedländer seeks to characterize the painting of this period by the examples of a few important masters who decisively influenced their entourage, Hoogewerff tries to reconstruct a historical reality composed of a multitude of painters of varying stature, each with his disciples and followers. Indeed, in Hoogewerff's book several of the *œuvres* brought together by Friedländer are not left intact, but the works are attributed to different masters, often under highly hypothetical designations. One occasion reflecting Hoogewerff's more delicate approach was the great Jubilee Exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in 1958-1981. Hoogewerff was much given to documentary studies and this approach was continued, among others, by Bruyn 1991, but has not yet led to essential changes in the overall view of Dutch painting.

JAN MOSTAERT

The problems concerning this painter are centred around two questions: (1) his early works and their relation to Geertgen tot Sint Jans; and (2) the painter's sojourn at the court of Margaret of Austria. Friedländer, like other authors, doubted van Mander's statement that Mostaert spent 18 years in the Southern Netherlands. Only Winkler believes that Mostaert ever stayed in the South before 1500 and may have been a pupil there of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene 11001. He insists that certain portraits were copied by Mostaert after older South Netherlandish models. These theories, however, have not found credence 11011. All authors maintain that Mostaert's art is rooted in the Haarlem tradition and that his early work must be considered a continuation of Geertgen's art and school. Like Friedländer, Hoogewerff 11021, Winkler 11031 and Boon 11041 consider the *Tree of Jesse* (No. 23) an early work by Mostaert—all but Winkler actually believe it to be his first. This is not accepted by van Schendel 11051 and Snyder 11061 who stick to their attribution of this panel to Geertgen tot Sint Jans

11071. Hoogewerff 11081 lists among early works the triptychs in Brussels (No. 1), Haarlem (No. 2) and Bonn (No. 3), and the portraits in Brussels (No. 35), Berlin (Nos. 34, 43), Liverpool (No. 38) and Copenhagen (No. 37). This author questions that the *Holy Family at Table* (No. 33) is an early work by Mostaert 11091, unlike Friedländer and Winkler 11101. His attribution of the panel to the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, accepted by the organizers of the Amsterdam exhibition 11111, was refuted by Boon in his study of Mostaert's early work 11121. Using new data from the genealogical researches of de Bye Dölleman 11131 and van der Klooster 11141, Boon proposes a new grouping of the work prior to 1510—the *Tree of Jesse* (No. 23), the *Holy Family at Table* (No. 33), the triptych in Haarlem (No. 2) and the portrait in Copenhagen (No. 37). To these Boon adds a triptych with the *Last Judgment*, painted about 1507 for the van Schoten family. Of this lost work Boon has published a series of drawings from the 19th century which in his opinion justify a close link between the original and the *Tree of Jesse*. This view of the young Mostaert is in turn rejected by Snyder 11151, who considers both the *Tree of Jesse* and the lost van Schoten triptych as works by Geertgen. He suggests that Jacob van Haarlem, cited by van Mander as Mostaert's teacher, may have been the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, to whose works he adds the *Holy Family at Table* (No. 33).

Concerning the later works, some dates have been narrowed. Boon 11161 suggests that Renaissance elements appear in the work of Mostaert only after 1515, and in consequence dates the *Adoration of the Magi* (No. 8) and the *Head of St. John the Baptist* (No. 21) after that year. De Bye Dölleman 11171 dates the Brussels triptych (No. 1) about 1513, rather than about 1520, on the ground of historical dates concerning the donors. Studies by Van der Klooster 11181 make it acceptable that the *Last Judgment* in Bonn (No. 3) was painted about 1514. Various dates, based on divergent interpretations of the event represented, have been advanced for the *West Indian Landscape* (No. 25), which was undoubtedly painted late in the artist's career: 1521 (Hoogewerff), 1542 (van Luttervelt) and 1550–1555 (Larsen) 11191.

The number of new attributions to Mostaert is very small. Generally accepted are two Prophets in Rotterdam (Add. 176), a *Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Angels* in Rome (Add. 177) and a *Christ Shown to the People* in St. Louis (Add. 178), whilst a *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* published by van Camp 11201 may be added to Mostaert's representations of Christ as a hitherto unknown type.

Some further data about the painter's life have been made known through the active researches of de Bye Dölleman 11211. Winner 11221 argues that a Mostaert signature on the Rome picture (Add. 177), hitherto considered spurious, is authentic.

THE MASTER OF ALKMAAR

Friedländer accepted with some reservations the identification of this anonymous master as Cornelis Buys the Elder who, according to Buchelius, was the first teacher of Jan van Scorel in Alkmaar. Hoogewerff 11231 considers this quite

probable and believes that van Scorel's technique shows the influence of the Master of Alkmaar. As for attributions to Buys, he largely follows Friedländer with whom he also agrees in rejecting the oeuvre catalogue compiled by van Gelder-Schrijver [124] and Fröhlich-Bum [125]. Some of Friedländer's attributions, however, are not accepted by Hoogewerff, who replaces them with others. The *Pilgrimage to Emmaus* (No. 56) is in his opinion a work by Goswyn van der Weyden [126]; the series of portraits of members of the van Naeldwijck family (No. 59 I) is supposed to have been painted by a local master from South Holland [127]. Hoogewerff's projection of another master from the entourage of Buys is not very convincing. Apart from the *Portrait of a Woman* (No. 59 III) listed by Friedländer, he ascribes to this master a male portrait in Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum, No. 559) and another in Kassel (Gemäldegalerie, No. 23) [128]. Even less probable seems Hoogewerff's proposal to add to the oeuvre of Cornelis Buys a portrait of Jacob Pijnssen [129], given by Friedländer to Jacob Cornelis van Oostanen [130].

Wescher [131] has tried to buttress the identification of the Master of Alkmaar as Cornelis Buys the Elder with a *Lamentation* which he thinks was a devotional panel of Jan van Egmond. Buchelius tells us that such a panel was begun by Buys and completed by van Scorel. Snyder [132], however, has provided convincing proof that this picture cannot be the one in question.

In the catalogue of the Amsterdam exhibition of 1958 [133] it was suggested that the Master of Alkmaar may have been the Haarlem painter Pieter Gerritsz., an artist to whom the painted model of the Church of St. Bavo in Haarlem has often been attributed [134]. This seems plausible to Boon [135], who believes that the Master of Alkmaar should be regarded as a master in the Haarlem tradition rather than as someone like Cornelis Buys, off in the remote provincial town of Alkmaar. Bruyn [136] does not accept this new identification. He takes a closer look at the person of Pieter Gerritsz. whose activity seems to extend until 1540, whilst the oeuvre given to the Master of Alkmaar does not seem to reach beyond 1510-1515.

At the Amsterdam exhibition, a few hitherto unknown paintings were shown as works by the Master of Alkmaar [137]. Bruyn [138] later attributed some of these to the Haarlem painter Cornelis Willems.

THE MASTER OF DELFT

After Friedländer, only Hoogewerff studied the work of this anonymous master extensively. Hoogewerff thinks he began his career in Utrecht, and moved to Delft only later [139]. He lists as works from the Utrecht period a *Virgin and Child with St. Bernard* (No. 65) and a triptych in the Rijksmuseum (No. 62). Of the pictures attributed with some reservations by Friedländer, Hoogewerff rejects the *Allegory on the Vanity of Life* (No. 66 I), for which he posits a separate painter, the Master of the Spes Nostra [140]. This attribution to an artist believed to have been a member of the entourage of the Master of Delft has been taken over in the more recent literature. The Master of the Spes Nostra has even been named as the possible author of certain woodcuts discussed by Friedländer (see

p. 33) (1411). A *Nativity* in the Brussels museum (Musées Royaux, No. 865), given by Hoogewerff to the Master of the Spes Nostra, is, according to van Regteren Altena, a work by the Master of the St. John Altarpiece (1421).

In his supplements, Friedländer himself withdrew his attribution of the *Crucifixion* in Turin (No. 66 vi), a painting that is now one of the key pieces in discussions on the œuvre of Hugo Jacobsz., father of Lucas van Leyden (1431).

CORNELIS ENGELBRECHTSZ.

The image of Engelbrechtsz. outlined by Friedländer (144) was pushed somewhat into the background in the thirties, because of discussions revolving around the rôle eventually played by his three sons and around the figure of a master close to Engelbrechtsz., identified by Friedländer as Jan de Cock (145).

Scholars have been less concerned with new attributions to Engelbrechtsz. than with his chronology. Hoogewerff (146) divides the œuvre into three groups: before 1510, from 1510 to 1520, and after 1520. He believes with Friedländer that workshop assistants played an important rôle in the last group of paintings. Hoogewerff does not share Friedländer's opinion that the two triptychs from Marienpoel (Nos. 71 and 74) were painted roundabout or shortly before 1510. In his opinion the triptych with the *Crucifixion* (No. 71) was painted in 1509-1510, but he dates the altarpiece with the *Lamentation* (No. 74) about 1518 (147). Of the later work, Hoogewerff gives a good deal to Engelbrechtsz.'s second son, Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst (148). Friedländer himself revised his opinion about the two triptychs in Leyden: in his monograph on Lucas van Leyden (149), probably completed in 1949/1950, he returns to this question and dates both altarpieces 'shortly after 1512, but in any case before 1518', in view of the ornaments and the architecture in the Brussels portraits painted that year (No. 109). Here he considers also the possibility that the early triptych with the *Healing of Naaman* (No. 67) might have been painted, not by Engelbrechtsz., but by his son Cornelis (150).

A very different image of Engelbrechtsz. comes to the fore in a study by Pelinck (151), who considers three paintings, usually attributed to Colijn de Coter (152), to be early works of Engelbrechtsz. According to this author, Engelbrechtsz. would have served his apprenticeship in Brussels, in the workshop of de Coter, about 1485-1490 or a bit later. Pelinck links the rest of the early work with these South Netherlandish works in about the same sequence proposed by Friedländer and Hoogewerff. He does not think that the two altarpieces in Leyden were done at the same time. Disagreeing with Hoogewerff, he considers the *Lamentation* to be older, done shortly after 1508, while the *Crucifixion* would have been painted about 1511-1512. His dating is derived from a supposed development in Engelbrechtsz.'s work, in which the Mannerist element in the figures becomes more pronounced and the Italian influence in the ornamentation increases. Gibson (153) goes even further in this direction, arguing that the *Crucifixion* was painted about 1520.

Just as unanimous are the opinions about the rôle played by the three sons of Engelbrechtsz. and by Jan de Cock. Friedländer, who originally posited the figure

of Jan de Cock, sees in this master a contemporary of Engelbrechtsz. who may have worked in the latter's workshop before moving to Antwerp in 1503 (1541). He does not deal with the paintings of Engelbrechtsz.'s sons, accepting, however, that they did work in their father's studio. He comes back to the eldest son, Pieter, only in relation to his possible collaboration with Lucas van Leyden (see p. 54). By contrast, some authors have tried to draw up a list of works for each of the three sons, often including a part of the father's œuvre in each. Shortly after the publication of Friedländer's book, Beets (155) identified the engraver who signed with the initials L. Cz—actually a South German craftsman—as Engelbrechtsz.'s youngest son Lucas Cornelisz. de Cock and ascribed to him, apart from the engravings, also the paintings Friedländer listed under the name of Jan de Cock (156). Hoogewerff (157) followed him in this, but not so Baldass (158), who sticks by Friedländer's de Cock, but separates from this master two 'apprentices', partly at the expense of the œuvre of Engelbrechtsz. Baldass thus distinguishes a Master of the Casting out of Hagar (named after painting No. 78), to whom he also gives two pictures that Friedländer ascribed to Engelbrechtsz. or de Cock (159). The second anonymous painter is called the Master of the Nativity at Zagreb who, according to Baldass, is also the author of the Verona *Calvary*, attributed to Lucas van Leyden (No. 122). Van de Waal (160) decisively rejects the Lucas Cornelisz. theory. Pelinck (161) suggests that Cornelis, Jr., may have been the author of a good part of the work ascribed to Jan de Cock. Beets (162) in 1952 comes back to this theory on Lucas Cornelisz. On this occasion he adds a few attributions to this son of Engelbrechtsz., for example the altarpiece of the *Feeding of the Five Thousand* (No. 69).

Gibson (163) comes to the conclusion that Friedländer's attributions to the eldest son of Engelbrechtsz., Pieter, (see p. 53-54) are not convincing: he thinks he recognizes Pieter's technique, known from his drawings, in the *Healing of Naaman* (No. 67) and the *Lamentation* in Munich (No. 94), and eliminates both from the œuvre of the father. This is rejected by Bruyn (164), who rejects the idea that the author of the de Cock œuvre is Jan (van Leyden) de Cock, active in Antwerp. According to Bruyn, the unknown master worked in Leyden in the entourage of Engelbrechtsz. The link between the Leyden painters around Engelbrechtsz. and Antwerp is thoroughly taken into account in his study. Gibson (165) too discusses this subject in relation to a *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Douai. According to him, Baldass's Master of the Casting out of Hagar (166) also belongs to the Leyden 'Antwerpeners'.

Compared with the innumerable new attributions to painters from the entourage of Engelbrechtsz. in the above-mentioned publications, works by the master himself that have become known since the publication of Friedländer's book are very small in number. Van Camp (167) has published a *Christ on the Cross* which he considers to be a workshop replica of the type of the Stockholm version (No. 89). Held (168) has described a tondo *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* in the Aix-en-Provence museum; the Leyden museum has acquired a small panel showing *Christ Carrying the Cross* (169).

In 1963 Winkler edited a monograph on Lucas van Leyden, the manuscript of which was found among Friedländer's papers (1701). In this study Friedländer continued and partly revised his earlier publication. There is reason to believe that Friedländer, as stated by Mrs. Reznicek-Buriks (1711), completed this work shortly before 1950. The monograph retains most of his attributions; only the *Last Judgment* in New York (No. 123) (1721) and a *Portrait of a Man* (No. 137) (1731) are eliminated. He considered the authorship of the *Portrait of a Young Man* in Groningen (No. 136) difficult to judge, in view of the bad state of the painting; and as for the triptych of the *Last Supper* in Aachen (No. 112), in Friedländer's opinion it was painted in the workshop of Lucas van Leyden about 1512. Some other paintings were given somewhat later dates than before (1741). It is noteworthy that Friedländer now puts the date of the Brussels *Temptation of St. Anthony* (No. 131) at 1518, but found the picture difficult to locate (1751). For the Verona *Calvary* (No. 122), about which he had been silent before, he now proposed a date of 1527. As new attributions he gave a *Young Bacchus with Two Playmates* (Add. 180), called into question by Winkler; the version of the *Card Players* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (Add. 181) is now accepted as an original, in place of the version in Eindhoven (Supp. 171), now considered a replica.

About the time when Friedländer completed his manuscript, Pelinck (1761) once again raised the question of Lucas van Leyden's precocity. He advances the well-argued theory that van Mander misunderstood Lucas's grandson about the actual year of the painter's birth and that Lucas was in fact born in 1489 rather than 1494. This is seen by many authors as an attractive proposition, but Pelinck has not really given any conclusive evidence. The argument put forward by Koning (177) concerning the grant of a pension in 1514 lacks full evidential force. It is true that this author was able to show that Beatrijs Dirck Floriszoon-dochter has been wrongly considered the painter's mother—she was indeed Hugo Jacobsz.'s second wife. Lucas was actually one of the five children of his first marriage to Marie Heynricksdochter. Koning also stressed that Lucas did not marry in 1515, but only some years later: in 1518 he was still living with his father in his house in the Breestraat in Leyden. Data about the descendants of Lucas's only daughter have been published by Bijl (1781).

When it comes to Lucas van Leyden's œuvre, discussion is centred on the question of the identity of his first teacher—according to van Mander his father Hugo Jacobsz.—and on the problem of the authorship of the *Sermon in the Church* (No. 134).

While Friedländer refrains from discussing the character of the work of Lucas's father, Hoogewerff (179) takes over an idea formulated by Dülberg, namely that Hugo Jacobsz. may have been the painter of the Turin *Crucifixion* (No. 66 VI). This solution is accepted by neither Boon (180) nor van Regteren Altena (181). The latter sees a relationship between the early work of Lucas van Leyden and that of the Master of the St. John Altarpiece, whom he identifies as Hugo Jacobsz. In contrast, Gibson (182) revives the theory of Dülberg and Hoogewerff.

Friedländer suggested that Engelbrechtsz.'s son Pieter may have collaborated on

Lucas's panel *The Sermon in the Church* (No. 134). A debate developed over this question. Beets [183] considers the panels in Hampton Court (see p. 53, Plate 104), attributed to Pieter by Friedländer, to be from the hand of Lucas van Leyden himself; he gives 1528 or 1531 as possible dates [184]. Hudig [185] considers Lucas the painter of the *Sermon*, but suggests that the man with a moustache sitting in the church rather than one of the men standing on the right would be Lucas's self-portrait. Baldass [186] gives Pieter as the author of the painting, but believes that the portraits to the right were painted by Lucas [187]. Hoogewerff [188] follows Beets in his attribution to Lucas van Leyden; in his opinion the picture represents an episode from the life of St. Norbert. A younger contemporary of Lucas, Aert Claesz. or Aertgen van Leyden, has also been considered as the painter of the *Sermon*, in particular by Wescher [189] and Winkler [190]. He too was a pupil of Engelbrechtsz. Opinions diverge about his work, especially in respect of a problematic group of paintings and drawings with a strong South German flavour [191]. Van Regteren Altena [192] suggested as long ago as 1939 that the *Sermon* as well as the Hampton Court panels may be the work of Aertgen. Van Gelder [193] took over this attribution in his study of this painting, which he considers an illustration of the Lord's Prayer. Reviewing the Amsterdam exhibition of 1958 [194], Boon [195] stressed that neither the *Sermon* nor the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Brussels (No. 131) nor the *Portrait of a Man* in Lugano (No. 139) could belong to the oeuvre of Lucas. He believes that one of the sons of Engelbrechtsz. was the author and further draws attention to the fact that the *St. Anthony* and the *Portrait* are sections of a larger painting. Müller Hofstede [196] too regards the *Sermon* as a work painted about 1530 by a follower of Lucas. In 1960 Bruyn [197] published a well-documented article on this question. He comes to the conclusion that the *Sermon* together with the Brussels *St. Anthony* and the *Portrait* in Lugano belonged to the same altarpiece devoted to the life of St. Anthony. It is supposed to have been painted about 1530 by Aertgen. Bruyn's conclusion is generally considered to be right; some, however, like Boon [198], retain some doubt about the attribution to Aertgen and consider the three paintings rather as works of an imitator of Lucas.

Concerning the rest of Lucas van Leyden's oeuvre, opinions are much less divided. Hoogewerff [199] favours only a few smaller works, like the various versions of *Lot and His Daughters*, thus disagreeing with Friedländer. Subsequently both he [200] and Beets [201] considered the *Card Players* in the Louvre as an original, of which the Nantes version (No. 143) would be a replica, while Friedländer believed neither to be by the master's hand [202].

Differences about dates are also of little importance. With the exception of the late date 1522-1525, proposed by Hoogewerff [203] for the Berlin *Virgin and Child with Angels* (No. 127), we can mention only the late date suggested by Müller Hofstede [204] for the Brunswick *Self-portrait* (No. 135): 1521-1522.

In the wake of the publication of Friedländer's book in 1963, some authors have formulated some doubts concerning various works listed traditionally in the oeuvre catalogues of Lucas van Leyden. Winkler, in his notes for Friedländer's monograph, repeatedly recorded divergent judgments. This is true also, among

others, of Held 12051 and Mrs. Reznicek-Buriks 12061, in their review of the book.

New attributions to Lucas are not numerous; the only important and generally accepted one is the triptych of the *Worship of the Golden Calf* (Add. 179). We may, in this context, also mention the drawings by Jan de Bisschop published by van Gelder 12071, made after lost drawings and paintings attributed to Lucas van Leyden.

THE MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

This anonymous master was considered to be an Amsterdam artist by Friedländer, but Hoogewerff 12081 sees in him an Utrecht painter. Nor does he take over Friedländer's makeshift name, but suggests instead Master of the Almshouse of the Seven Electors, according to the provenance of the most important painting 12091. Moreover, he does not recognize the hand of the painter in the two Amsterdam panels (No. 145) which he gives to a separate artist, designated the Master of the Lantern. Boon 12101 dates the *Portrait of a Couple* in Rotterdam (No. 153) about 1515, somewhat later than the period generally accepted for this master.

1. M. Thierry de Bye Dölleman, in 'Jan Jansz. Mostaert, schilder, een beroemd Haarlemmer (ca. 1473-ca. 1555)', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, xvii, 1963, pp. 123-136, gives more precise information about the Suycker family. Jan Mostaert, in Haarlem before 1498, married the widow Agnyese Martijnsdochter, whose first husband, Claes Suycker, had died in 1491.

2. Researches in the Haarlem archives have confirmed Friedländer's inference. Mostaert was always described as a Haarlem citizen. Only between 1517 and 1526 does his name fail to appear in the Haarlem documents. This may suggest a short stay in Mechlin. See J. Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part III: The Problem of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jan Mostaert', *The Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, pp. 448-449.

3. E. Larsen uses the same argument in 'Once More Jan Mostaert's West Indian Landscape', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavalleye*, Louvain, 1970, pp. 126-137. The author identifies the naked savages as the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil. He links the painting with a Brazilian expedition by the Portuguese Army about 1550.

4. See Vol. xi, No. 270a.

5. In his supplement (1937), Friedländer indicates that during a restoration the signature as well as the date were shown to be later additions.

6. His name was Gijsbrecht van Duvenvoirde van de Bosche; see L. J. van der Klooster, 'Drie opmerkingen over Jan Mostaerts z.g. Alckemade triptiek', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, xvii, 1963, pp. 137-142.

7. See Vol. v, No. 33.

8. The reasons for the poor state of the panel are wanton damage inflicted by the iconoclasts, who painted the work black in 1582, and a subsequent restoration. See G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. II, The Hague, 1937, p. 350.

9. Reproduced and described by Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 356, 530-538. In 1925 the wooden ceiling was moved to the choir of the church of St. Lawrence in Alkmaar.

10. See also Vol. XII, pp. 112-114, of the German edition.

11. For the centrepiece, see Vol. VII, No. 153a.

12. Another reading—differing only in details—is given by Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 391-392.

13. Friedländer dated the first edition of *Le Chevalier délégué* 1488 in Vol. v, and linked it with a painter of certain panels from a St. John altarpiece (Vol. v, Pl. 25).

14. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, The Hague, 1939, pp. 145-146, thinks that a key to the problem of the various archers' guilds in Haarlem, lies in a reorganization that took place in 1514. In that year one group was equipped with modern

fire-arms. The older members—and in view of the presence of Lucas van Leyden, according to Hoogewerff, also the physically weaker—were then assigned to the *Oude Scutten*, still armed with bows.

15. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 189, identifies the coats of arms as belonging to the Paedts and van Raephorst families, but he too is unable to identify the sitters.

16. For Jan de Cock, see Vol. XI, pp. 59 ff. of the German edition.

17. See Vol. XI, No. 105, and p. 65 of the German edition.

18. Vol. XI, No. 118.

19. Vol. XI, No. 123.

20. Comprehensive genealogical data concerning the descendants of Lucas van Leyden's natural daughter, Marijten Lucasdochter, and her husband, the painter Dammas Claesz. de Hoy, are given by A. Bijl, in 'Vermaarde Schilders en hun nageslacht', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Genealogie en Heraldiek*, vi, 1948, pp. 26-31, 54-56, 74-77, 105-109, 125-126, 152-157.

21. See note 14.

22. Hampton Court, London, Inv. No. 455, *St. Sebastian Heals Chromatius* (45.5 × 37.5 cm); No. 602, *St. Sebastian before the Emperor Diocletian* (45.5 × 38 cm); No. 596, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* (51 × 37 cm).

23. At the time Friedländer wrote, the only overpainting of any consequence was the inscription *Jahveh* on the top of the centrepiece. In 1935 the figure of the Almighty was discovered. See A. Coert, 'Het weder te voorschijn brengen van de beeltenis van God de Vader op het "Jongste Oordeel" van Lucas van Leyden in de Lakenhal', *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland (Leidsch Jaarboekje)*, xxviii, 1935-1936, pp. 76-83.

24. In his later *Lucas van Leyden* (edited by F. Winkler, Berlin, 1963, pp. 73-78), Friedländer lists 34 or 35 drawings as from the hand of the master.

25. F. Winkler, in 'Der "Adam" des Lucas van Leyden im Kupferstichkabinett', *Berliner Museen*, xi, 1961, pp. 42-44, contests the attribution of this drawing, which is also rejected by some other authors. Winkler links it with Goltzius, together with a comparable version in the same collection.

26. Friedländer himself did not retain this attribution in his monograph of 1963, p. 77 (see note 24).

27. The stay in *Het Hofje* cannot be used as a sufficient argument for its having been done in Amsterdam. The Almshouse of the Seven Electors in the Tuinstraat in Amsterdam was founded only in the 17th century, by Cornelis Maartensz. Pronck; see G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, The Hague, 1936, p. 520.

28. The two panels come from the Della Faille de Waerloos

collection rather than from the Hoogendijk collection.

29. The identity of the donor is the subject of a study by M. Thierry de Bye Dölleman, 'Aelbrecht Adriaenszoon, de stamvader van het geslacht Van Adrichem van Dorp, en zijn naaste familieleden', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, XVI, 1962, pp. 147-168. The fact that the donor here appears alone suggests that he was then a widower. The time might be after the death of either Aelbrecht's first wife, Sanne van Asseldelft, in 1501, or of his second wife, Baerte Dirckdochter van der Laen, probably in 1513. The arguments put forward by Dölleman that the van der Laen coats of arms on the triptych are overpainted and that the St. Veronica kneeling, on the left shutter, represents Aelbrecht's first wife, are not convincing. His study, by the way, confirms G. J. Hoogewerff (*loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 478), who held that the date given by Friedländer, about 1520, must be too late. About that time Aelbrecht van Adrichem married for the third time, Elisabeth van Dorp (who died in 1537).

30. The wings are now exhibited again with the centrepiece, at the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. According to M. Thierry de Bye Dölleman (quoted by Snyder, in 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting', Part III: 'The Problem of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jan Mostaert', *The Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, p. 454, note 58) the donors are Willem Pietersz., mayor of Haarlem, and his first wife, Bella Borwoutsdr. The wings must have thus been painted before 1509, as Pietersz. married for the second time in that year.

31. See note 6. Van der Klooster conclusively identifies all persons represented on the triptych and suggests it was done between 1510 (the year of Gijsbrecht van Duvenvoorde's death) and 1514. The coats of arms of the woman are wrongly interpreted as those of the van Alckemade family; actually they belong to the van Noordwijck family.

32. K. G. Boon, in 'Early Art of the Northern Netherlands at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, p. 377, suggests that Mostaert may himself have copied the portrait of Mary of Burgundy from an older miniature portrait, commissioned by Mary's daughter Margaret.

33. The portraits have been identified as those of Aelbrecht Adriaensz. van Adrichem (the same as the donor of the triptych, No. 1) and his third wife, Elisabeth van Dorp; see the article by M. Thierry de Bye Dölleman quoted in note 29. This suggests a date of 1520, the year of his marriage, or later.

34. Perhaps shutters from an organ. Jacques Foucart, in the catalogue of the exhibition, *Le XVII^e Siècle Européen* (Paris, Petit Palais, October 1965-January 1966, No. 350), sums up the difficulties concerning the dating and attribution of these shutters.

35. Described, after restoration, by N. I. Romanov, in 'Jan Mostaert's Great "Ecce Homo"', *Art in America and Elsewhere*, XXII, 1933-1934, pp. 40-48.

36. The painting from the National Gallery, London, is not the picture from the Willett collection. See M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, Third revised

edition, London, 1968, pp. 133-134. Davies thinks that the painting may be a later copy.

37. The panel has been cropped at the bottom and top. See J. Lavalleye, *Collections d'Espagne*, Vol. II, Antwerp, 1958 (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, II, *Répertoire*), p. 24, No. 69.

38. See note 7.

39. For an attempt to interpret the small secondary scenes, see M. Davies, *loc. cit.*, pp. 132-133. The author draws attention to the overpainting of the panel, in particular in the drapery of the putti.

40. R. van Luttervelt, in 'De herkomst en lotgevallen van Mostaert's Boom van Jesse', *Historia*, XIII, 1948, pp. 265-270, points out that the white garment is the habit of a sister of the Order of St. Magdalene. The painting may thus come from the Convent of St. Mary Magdalene, founded near Haarlem in 1474.

41. The theme of this painting has been interpreted in various ways: R. van Luttervelt, in 'Jan Mostaert's West-Indisch Landschap', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1948-1949, pp. 104-117 suggests that an episode from the expedition of the Spaniard Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to Arizona and New Mexico is represented, probably the conquest of the village of Oa-quima in 1540. His conjecture that Mostaert may have used drawings and reports of eyewitnesses for it is rejected by O. Kurz, in 'Recent Research', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, p. 239. Basing himself on N. Beets, H. van de Waal, in *Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschied-uitbeelding, 1500-1800* (The Hague, 1952, p. 91), declares the scene to be the landing of Columbus on the island of Goanin. In his opinion, Mostaert drew on theatrical scenery for his representation. In a recent study E. Larsen (see note 3) disputes these theories because in the course of restoration work, a Spanish flag was shown to be a later addition. The author believes the painting represents a Portuguese expedition in Brazil, about 1550.

42. For further data on the sitter, Joost van Bronckhorst, Heer van Bleyswijk, see J. Foucart, *loc. cit.*, No. 207.

43. The documents were published by Snyder (in his article quoted in note 2), p. 451, note 32.

44. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 490, argues that Nos. 29 and 41 cannot belong together because of a difference in size; but this was based on an error.

45. Hoogewerff (*loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 465-467) sees this as a portrait of Adriaan van St. Winoxbergen, painted between 1500 and 1510 in Mechlin. M. Thierry de Bye Dölleman (see pp. 135-136 of the article cited in note 1) succeeded in identifying the coats of arms as those of the North Netherlandish family of van de Coulster. From the initials A. C. on the cushion under the hands of the sitter, he was able to establish the sitter's identity as Abel van de Coulster, born about 1468 and from 1512 onward a councillor at the court of Holland in The Hague.

46. Identified by Dölleman as the portrait of Jan Jansz. van der Meer (died 23rd June 1510), see K. G. Boon, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Mostaert', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 63.

47. See Vol. I, p. 67. Five other replicas after the same origi-

nal are listed by F. Winkler in 'Zur Kenntnis und Würdigung des Jan Mostaert', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, xiii, 1959, pp. 196-200.

48. Basing himself on rather slender hypothetical reasons, R. van Luttervelt, in 'Renaissancenkunst in Breda', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xiii, 1962, sought to identify this portrait as depicting Claudine of Orange, second wife of Henry of Nassau-Breda.

49. It is not quite certain that the portrait here reproduced is the version considered by Friedländer.

50. The name put forward for the couple represented is Diest van Melisant.

51. The saint considered by Friedländer as Dorothea is in fact St. Lucia, with the sword and torches as attributes.

52. Not Godeleva but St. Cunera, recognized by the towel with which she was strangled (?).

53. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 378-380, draws attention to the fact that the arms were wrongly identified as van Soutelande, he also points out that the arms of the kneeling donor do not accord with the coat of arms carried by the hovering angels at the top of the panel.

54. J. E. Snyder, in 'The Master of Alkmaar. Two Notes', *Oud Holland*, LXXVI, 1961, p. 63, links these panels with an inventory of 1573 from the headquarters of the Knights of St. John in Haarlem. There two altarpiece shutters with the four scenes here mentioned are listed as coming from the abbey church at Heilo, near Alkmaar. The panel described by Friedländer as *Christ in Limbo* represents in fact *Christ Appearing to His Mother*.

55. The saints represented are John the Baptist, Cecilia, Francis and Jerome of Noordwijk. The presence of the latter suggests that the panel comes from the region between Alkmaar and Haarlem.

56. Her name is Magdalena van Waerdenburg. See D. P. van Wigcheren, 'Jan I van Egmond en de Meester van Alkmaar', *Alkmaars Jaarboekje*, II, 1966, pp. 39-44.

57. The portraits bear an old numbering beginning with 2. This leads to the conclusion that the first of the series has been lost. The person represented on it should have been William I of Naeldwijk (died 1345). See N. F. van Gelder-Schrijver, 'De Meester van Alkmaar. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van de Haarlemsche Schilderschool', *Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930, p. 102. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 423-425, accepts this supposition and suggests that the series may have been commissioned about 1496 by the Chapter of Naeldwijk, which was founded by William I.

58. Pächt has identified the subject as *The Death of St. Alexis*. See John G. Johnson Collection, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Painting*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 19.

59. The patron saints are Martin and Cunera. According to G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 578, the triptych should be dated before 1496 for the St. Martin is a portrait of the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, who died that year.

60. See note 11.

61. From Deventer. A faithful replica is in the Musée Central in Metz (Inv. No. 550; 47 x 32 cm).

62. Restored in 1950.

63. The paintings in Turin and Frankfurt were already linked by F. Dülberg, in *Frühholänder in Italien*, Haarlem, 1907, pp. 15-17. This author considered them works by Hugo Jacobsz., the father of Lucas van Leyden. This theory has not been accepted by Friedländer. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, takes over the attribution to Hugo Jacobsz., but with some reservations. It is decisively rejected by K. G. Boon in 'Meester van de Khanenko-aanbidding of Meester van de Kruisiging te Turijn', *Oud-Holland*, LXVIII, 1953, pp. 209-216. He believes that the two triptychs were almost certainly painted in the Southern Netherlands by a master under the strong influence of Hugo van der Goes, whom he proposes to call the Master of the Turin Crucifixion. The attribution to Hugo Jacobsz. was revived by W. S. Gibson in 'Lucas van Leyden and His Two Teachers', in *Simiolus*, IV, 1970-71, pp. 90-99. Gibson sees borrowings from the two triptychs in some figure types and heads in Lucas van Leyden's early prints.

64. Sts. Cosmas and Damian.

65. It is not quite certain that the painting here reproduced is in fact the centrepiece of the triptych meant by Friedländer.

66. See note 15.

67. The Sicilian picture here reproduced (Plate 59) accords completely with Friedländer's description. It proved impossible to establish, however, that the picture was indeed sold by a Munich art dealer.

68. The van der Does arms and the joint van der Does-van Poelgeest arms (i.e. the arms of the couple, that was represented on the centrepiece destroyed about 1837).

69. According to E. Pelinck, from the church of St. Peter at Leyden. See the extensive study on the painting and its origin in *Stedelijke Museum 'De Lakenhal', Beschrijvende catalogus van de Schilderijen en tekeningen*, Leyden, 1949, pp. 66-70. It has been wrongly believed that the much smaller Crucifixion in Westerholt Castle in Westphalia, attributed to Engelbrechtsz., is the lost centrepiece from that triptych (see the catalogue of the exhibition, *Marienbild in Rheinland und Westfalen*, Villa Hügel, Essen, 14th June-22nd September 1968, No. 289).

70. Mentioned by Friedländer as possibly by the hand of Jan de Cock (Vol. XI, p. 127, of the German edition).

71. The catalogue of the exhibition *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 28th June-28th September 1958, seeks to date this picture (No. 121 in the catalogue) from the arms of Charles V, represented on a cushion in Matthew's office. Since the imperial eagle does not appear, it must have been painted before 1519, when Charles was elected emperor. A copy of the picture, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nantes (No. 518; 26 x 37.5 cm) has as pendant a *Christ at the Home of Simon the Leper*, of the same size. The corresponding original by Engelbrechtsz. has not been found up to now.

72. Mentioned by Friedländer as possibly by Jan de Cock

(Vol. XI, p. 127, of the German edition).

73. Probably St. Cecilia and her betrothed, Valerian.

74. The painting is thought to be a portrait of the emperor Charles V. For the discussions of the attribution of this panel, see H. W. Janson, 'A Mythological Portrait of the Emperor Charles the Fifth', *Worcester Art Museum Annual*, I, 1935-1936, pp. 19-31; also G. Marlier, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 348-349.

75. E. Pelinck, in 'Twee Leidsche Portretten en een Stadsgezicht', *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland (Leidsch Jaarboekje)*, XXXII, 1940, pp. 178-184, has identified the portraits as those of Dirck Ottensz., burgomaster and brewer of Leyden, and his wife, Cornelia Pietersdochter.

76. N. Nikulin wrote about the restoration of this triptych in 'K istorii triptikha Luki Lejdenskogo "Isclenie Ierikhonsogo slepca"', *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XXVI, 1965, pp. 14-18. He also suggests that one of the figures on the left shutter is a self-portrait (N. Nikulin, 'Ob odnom avtoportrete Luki Lejdenskogo', *loc. cit.*, XXV, 1964, pp. 17-19). See also N. Nikouline, *La peinture néerlandaise des XVe et XVIe siècles au Musée de l'Ermitage*, Leningrad, 1972, pp. 111-119.

77. The centrepiece was restored in 1935 by J. C. Traas; see note 23. In 1947 the versos of the shutters were cleaned by the same restorer; see E. Pelinck, 'Petrus en Paulus van Lucas van Leyden', *Apollo*, *Maandblad voor Literatuur en Beeldende Kunsten*, III, 1948, pp. 172-177.

78. The painting represents Potiphar's wife showing Joseph's robe to her husband.

79. Attributed by Friedländer to Jan de Cock (Vol. XI, No. 110).

80. Friedländer no longer listed this picture in his 1963 monograph on Lucas van Leyden (see note 24).

81. Later on Friedländer was no longer so sure that this picture is an original (see the monograph cited in note 24, p. 72).

82. It is generally accepted that the scene represents an episode from the legend of St. Anthony, as proposed by J. Bruyn, 'Twee St. Antonius-panelen en andere werken van Aertgen van Leyden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XI, 1960, pp. 36-119. Bruyn says that of the group of six men standing on the right, the three to the rear (of whom only the heads are visible) were painted as a later addition. X-ray photography has shown that there was originally a small wall in that space.

83. The red background on this panel was revealed in 1951 by H. Wernicke. See C. Müller-Hofstede, 'Das Selbstbildnis des Lucas van Leyden im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum zu Braunschweig', *Festschrift für Friedrich Winkler*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 221-238.

84. In his later study Friedländer does not attempt to settle the authorship of this portrait, because of its poor state. See the monograph quoted in note 24, p. 53.

85. Friedländer does not mention this portrait in his 1963 monograph (see note 24). According to the exhibition, *Dutch Pictures, 1450-1750*, at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1952-1953, J. G. van Gelder gave this portrait to Jan Swart van

Groningen (see editorial in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p. 33).

86. Cleaned in 1959; see M. Davies, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

87. See Supp. 172.

88. See note 27.

89. The sitters were Dirck Borre van Amerongen, burgomaster of Utrecht, and his wife Maria van Snellenberg. The inscription later added on the verso runs as follows: *Dirck Borre van Amerongen 1527 en Maria van Snellenberg Obiit 1540*.

90. This panel, formerly in the possession of the art dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam (47 x 33.5 cm), was attributed to an Utrecht master by K. G. Boon, in 'Eenige Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van Vroege Nederlandsche Schilders', *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1940, pp. 99-100.

91. Mentioned by Friedländer as early as 1899 (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, p. 332) as a work by Engelbrechtsz. (see W. Cohen in *Thieme-Becker*, Vol. X, p. 527). This attribution by Friedländer went unnoticed. The portrait is now considered as a work by Jan Joest (see A. Stange, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, Vol. I, Munich, 1967, No. 414). Friedländer's statement that the portrait had been transferred to Munich seems to be erroneous.

92. This tondo (62 cm in diameter) is now in the Municipal Museum 'Het Markiezenhof' at Bergen op Zoom (Netherlands) as a loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague.

93. In his later monograph (see note 24, p. 55) Friedländer says that the paintings on the versos of the shutters are by another hand. They represent a donor with his patron saint St. Anthony, and the Man of Sorrows.

94. In his later monograph (see note 24, p. 52) Friedländer considers this picture a replica of an original in Lugano (Add. No. 181).

95. G. J. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vols. I-III.

96. Grete Ring, 'Die Gruppe der heiligen Agnes', *Oud-Holland*, LVI, 1939, pp. 26-47.

97. K. G. Boon, 'Eenige Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van Vroege Nederlandsche Schilders', *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1940, pp. 97-108.

98. Exhibition, *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 28th June-28th September 1958.

99. J. Bruyn, 'De Abdij van Egmond als opdrachtgeefster van kunstwerken in het begin van de zestiende eeuw', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 145-172, 197-227.

100. F. Winkler, 'Zur Kenntnis und Würdigung des Jan Mostaert', *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIII, 1959, pp. 177-214. Winkler had already written on this subject: F. Winkler, 'Rogier van der Weyden's Early Portraits', *The Art Quarterly*, XIII, 1950, pp. 211-200.

101. For an extensive refutation of Winkler's theory and a critical survey concerning Mostaert's possible stay in Mechlin, see J. Duverger, 'Jan Mostaert, Ereschilder van Margareta van Oostenrijk', *Festschrift für Wolfgang Krönig*, Düsseldorf, 1971

(= *Aachener Kunstblätter*, xli, 1971), pp. 113-117.

102. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 456-458.

103. See note 100, pp. 179-183.

104. K. G. Boon, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Mostaert', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 61-72, especially pp. 62-63.

105. A. v[an] S[chendel], "'De Boom van Jesse" door Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Jan Mostaert', *Vereeniging Rembrandt. Verslag over de jaren 1954 en 1955*; A. van Schendel, 'De Boom van Jesse en het probleem van Geertgen tot Sint Jans', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, v, 1957, pp. 75-83.

106. J. Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part III: The Problem of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jan Mostaert', *The Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, pp. 444-458.

107. A summary of previous attributions to Geertgen or Mostaert appears in the Catalogue quoted in note 98, p. 55.

108. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 454-484.

109. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-202.

110. See note 100, p. 192.

111. See note 98, No. 30.

112. See note 104.

113. See notes 1, 29.

114. See note 6.

115. See note 106.

116. See note 104, p. 63.

117. See note 29.

118. See note 6.

119. See note 41.

120. G. van Camp, 'Une œuvre inconnue du Maître d'Oultremont (Jan Mostaert)', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art/Belgisch tijdschrift voor oudheidkunde en kunstgeschiedenis*, xxvi, 1957, pp. 37-40.

121. See note 1.

122. M. Winner, 'Eine Signatur Jan Mostaerts', *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 247-248.

123. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 352-358.

124. N. F. van Gelder-Schrijver, 'De Meester van Alkmaar. Een Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Haarlemsche Schilderschool', *Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930, pp. 97-121; XLVIII, 1931, pp. 42-48.

125. L. Fröhlich-Bum, 'Einige Werke des Meisters von Alkmaar in Wiener Privatbesitz', *Oud-Holland*, LI, 1934, pp. 182-187.

126. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 387-388.

127. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 423-425.

128. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 406-410.

129. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 416-418. Attributed to Cornelis Buys I in the exhibition *Rondom de Meester van Alkmaar*, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, 1950, No. 4.

130. See Vol. XII, No. 291. See K. G. Boon, 'Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (ca. 1470-1533). Het portret van Jacob Pijnsen', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, VII, 1963, No. 25.

131. P. Wescher, 'Jan Scorel und die beiden Cornelis Buys, der Ältere und der Jüngere', *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 82-88.

132. J. E. Snyder, 'The Master of Alkmaar. Two Notes', *Oud-Holland*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 61-67. That Wescher's identi-

fication is wrong is also maintained in the catalogue of the *Jan van Scorel* exhibition at the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 3rd August-30th October 1955, No. 53.

133. See note 98, pp. 89-90.

134. See Vol. v, No. 15.

135. K. G. Boon, 'Early Art of the Northern Netherlands at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, p. 376.

136. See note 99, p. 199.

137. See note 98, p. 91, Nos. 90-93.

138. In particular the large altarpiece shutters with apostles and saints in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne (Dep. Nos. 432 and 433, WRM 434) and in the Wetzlar collection in Amsterdam (Nos. 90-91 of the Amsterdam exhibition); see note 99, pp. 203-204.

139. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 575-580 (Utrecht period); Vol. II, pp. 388-396 (Delft period).

140. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 278-280. See H. Schulte Nordholt, 'Meester van Spes Nostra. Allegorie op de Vergankelijkheid', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, VII, 1963, No. 35.

141. See note 98, pp. 171-172.

142. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Hugo Jacobsz.', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, VI, 1955, pp. 101-117; see also Vol. v, p. 97.

143. See note 63.

144. Friedländer uses the less familiar spelling *Engelbrechtsen*. Usually the painter is designated as *Engelbrechtsz.* See Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

145. See p. 41, and also Vol. XI, p. 59, of the German edition.

146. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 149-206.

147. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 160-175.

148. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 202-206. Four of the works attributed by Friedländer to Engelbrechtsz. are given by Hoogewerff to his son Cornelis (Nos. 88, 93, 108, Supp. 163).

149. See note 24, pp. 25-26.

150. See note 24, pp. 27 and 50.

151. E. Pelinck, 'Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. De herkomst van zijn kunst', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1948-1949, pp. 40-74.

152. See Vol. IV, Nos. 102, 104 and Supp. 134.

153. W. S. Gibson, 'Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst as a Panel Painter', *Simiolus*, I, 1966-1967, p. 45; id., 'The Master of the Douai Carrying of the Cross', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXV, 1970, p. 112 (with reference to the unpublished doctoral dissertation by the same author, Harvard University, 1969).

154. See note 145.

155. N. Beets, 'Zestiende-eeuwsche Kunstenaars, IV. Lucas Corneliszoon de Kock', *Oud-Holland*, LII, 1935, pp. 49-76, 159-173, 216-228.

156. N. Beets, 'Zestiende-eeuwsche Kunstenaars, IV. Lucas Cornelisz. de Kock', *Oud-Holland*, LIII, 1936, pp. 55-78.

157. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 353-387.

158. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler des spätgotischen Stiles', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, XI, 1937, pp. 124-131.

159. A *St. Anthony* in Dresden (No. 102) and a *Sts. Anthony and Paul* in Berlin (Vol. XI, No. 118); see also p. 43.
160. H. van de Waal, 'De zoons van Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. of Jan de Cock, alias "Jan van Leyden"? Een kleine bijdrage tot een groot probleem', *Aan Max J. Friedländer 1867-5 juni-1942*, The Hague, 1942, pp. 37-39.
161. See note 151, pp. 70-74.
162. N. Beets, 'Nog eens "Jan Wellens de Cock" en de zonen van Cornelis Engebrechtsz.: Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst, Lucas Cornelisz. de Kock', *Oud-Holland*, LXVII, 1952, pp. 1-30.
163. W. S. Gibson, 'Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst as a Panel Painter', *Simiolus*, I, 1966-1967, pp. 37-45.
164. J. Bruyn, 'Lucas van Leyden en zijn Leidse tijdgenoten in hun relatie tot Zuid-Nederland', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena* 16/v/1969, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 44-47, 263-264.
165. W. S. Gibson, 'The Master of the Douai Carrying of the Cross', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXV, 1970, pp. 111-115.
166. See note 158.
167. G. van Camp, 'Le Calvaire attribué à Cornelis Engebrechtsz. et l'école de Leyde', *Bulletin des Musées des Beaux-Arts/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* (Brussels), I, 1952, pp. 42-46.
168. J. S. Held, 'A Tondo by Cornelis Engebrechtsz.', *Oud-Holland*, LXVII, 1952, pp. 233-237.
169. *Verslag van de toestand van het Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal" te Leiden over het jaar 1951* (Leiden, 1952), pp. 14-15; see also J. G. van Gelder, 'Cornelis Engebrechtsz. (1468-1533). De Kruisdraging', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, I, 1957, No. 9. This small panel should be compared with a *Lamentation* of the same size in the Musée Diocésain in Liège (Inv. No. 14).
170. See note 24.
171. E. I. Reznicek-Buriks's discussion of M. J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden*, Berlin, 1963, *Oud-Holland*, LXXX, 1965, pp. 241-247.
172. Attributed to Aertgen van Leyden by J. Held, 'Dutch and Flemish Primitives in the New York Historical Society', *Art in America and Elsewhere*, XXIII, 1934-1935, pp. 3-17.
173. See note 85.
174. The most important differences in dates are: Nos. 110 (1513), 117 (1512), 127 (1520), 130 (1516), 132 (1520), 142 (1525) and Supp. 170 (1526).
175. See note 24, pp. 53 and 69.
176. E. Pelinck, 'Het geboortjaar van het "wonderkind" Lucas van Leyden', *Oud-Holland*, LXIV, 1949, pp. 193-196.
177. D. Koning, 'Het geboortjaar, de moeder en de woning van Lucas van Leyden', *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken*, LI, 1959, pp. 82-90.
178. See note 20.
179. See note 63.
180. See note 63.
181. See note 142.
182. See note 63.
183. N. Beets, 'Zestiende-eeuwsche Kunstenaars, III. Lucas van Leyden', *Oud-Holland*, LI, 1934, pp. 53-54.
184. N. Beets, *Lucas van Leyden*, Amsterdam, 1940, pp. 52-54.
185. F. W. Hudig, 'De Preek van Lucas van Leyden', *Oud-Holland*, LI, 1934, pp. 65-69; dated after 1530 on the basis of this portrait by J. B. F. van Gils, 'Lucas van Leyden met de knevel', *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 70-72. This figure is considered a self-portrait of Aertgen van Leyden by J. Bruyn, 'Twee St. Antonius-panelen en andere werken van Aertgen van Leyden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XI, 1960, pp. 61-63.
186. See note 158, p. 135.
187. L. Baldass, 'Die Bildnisse des Lukas van Leyden', *Pantheon*, XX, 1937, p. 206.
188. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 259-268.
189. P. Wescher, 'Aert Claesz (Aertgen van Leyden) 1498-1562', *Old Master Drawings*, IX, 1934-1935, pp. 65-66.
190. F. Winkler, 'Abraham Schöpfer oder Aertgen van Leyden', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVI, 1935, pp. 117-130.
191. For a survey of this discussion, see K. G. Boon, 'Rondom Aertgen', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena* 16/v/1969, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 55-60, 271-276, where the paintings and drawings in question are given to Nikolaus Hogenberg.
192. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Aertgen van Leyden', *Oud-Holland*, LVI, 1939, pp. 82-83.
193. J. G. van Gelder, '"De Kerkprediking" van "Lucas van Leyden"', *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 101-106.
194. See note 71.
195. See note 32, pp. 377-378.
196. See note 83, pp. 233-234.
197. J. Bruyn, 'Twee St. Antonius-panelen en andere werken van Aertgen van Leyden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XI, 1960, pp. 36-119.
198. K. G. Boon, 'Lucas van Leyden', *Encyclopedia of World Art*, IX, New York/Toronto/London, 1964, col. 352.
199. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 207-312.
200. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 229.
201. See note 183, p. 50.
202. See note 24, p. 47.
203. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 279-281.
204. See note 83.
205. J. S. Held, discussion of M. J. Friedländer, *Lucas van Leyden*, Berlin, 1963, *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 446-447.
206. See note 171.
207. J. G. van Gelder, 'Verloren werken van Lucas van Leyden', *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 91-100. An additional drawing by De Bisschop also published by J. G. van Gelder, 'Jan de Bisschop 1628-1671', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXVI, 1971, p. 214, fig. 44.
208. Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 518-524.
209. See note 27.
210. K. G. Boon, 'De Meester van het Amsterdamse Sterfbed van Maria (werkzaam te Utrecht omstreeks 1480-1500). Het sterfbed van Maria', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, II, 1958, No. 32.

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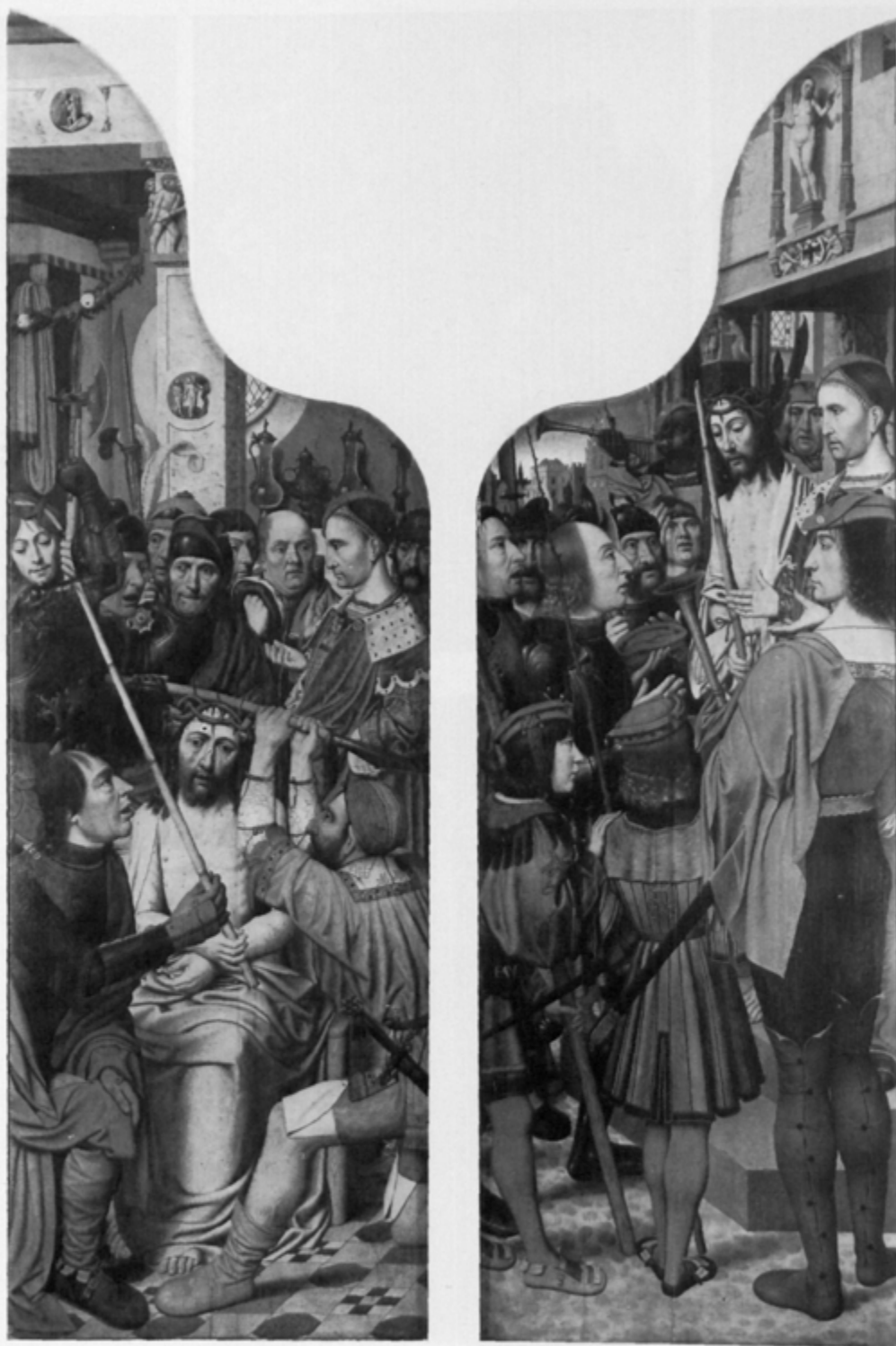
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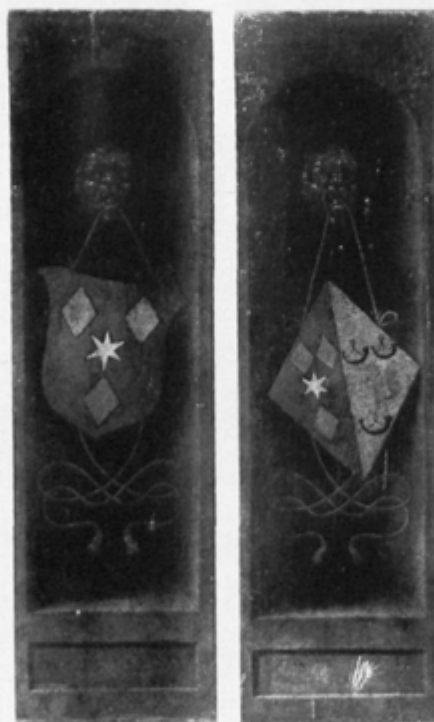
1. J. Mostaert. Altarpiece of the Deposition. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



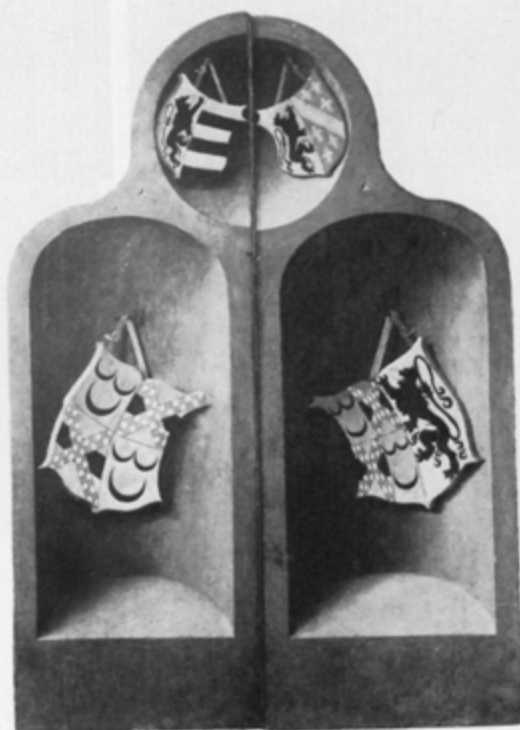
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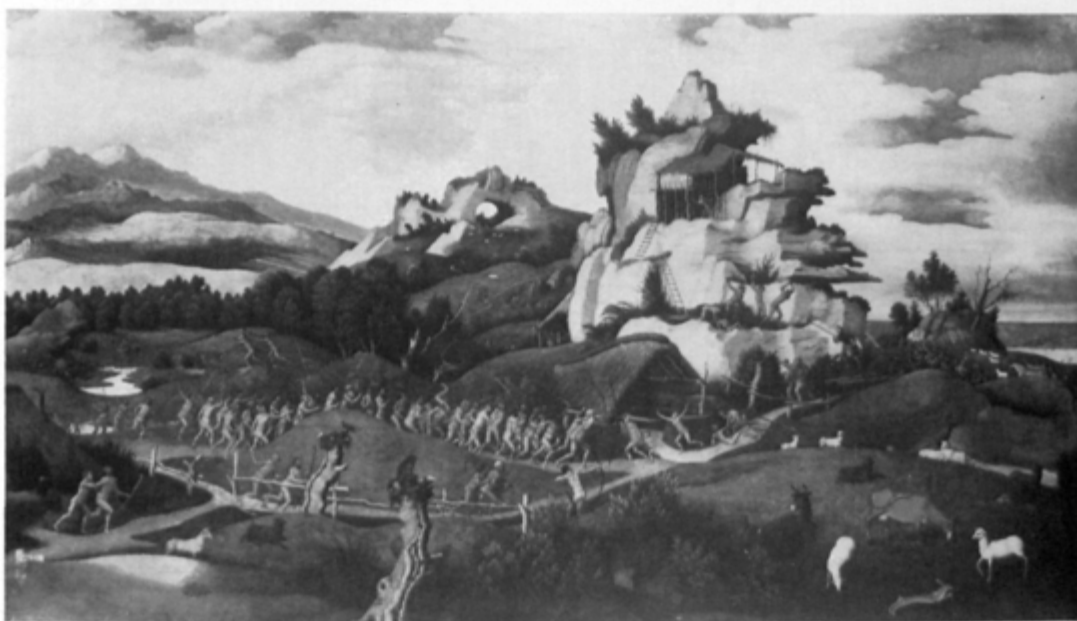


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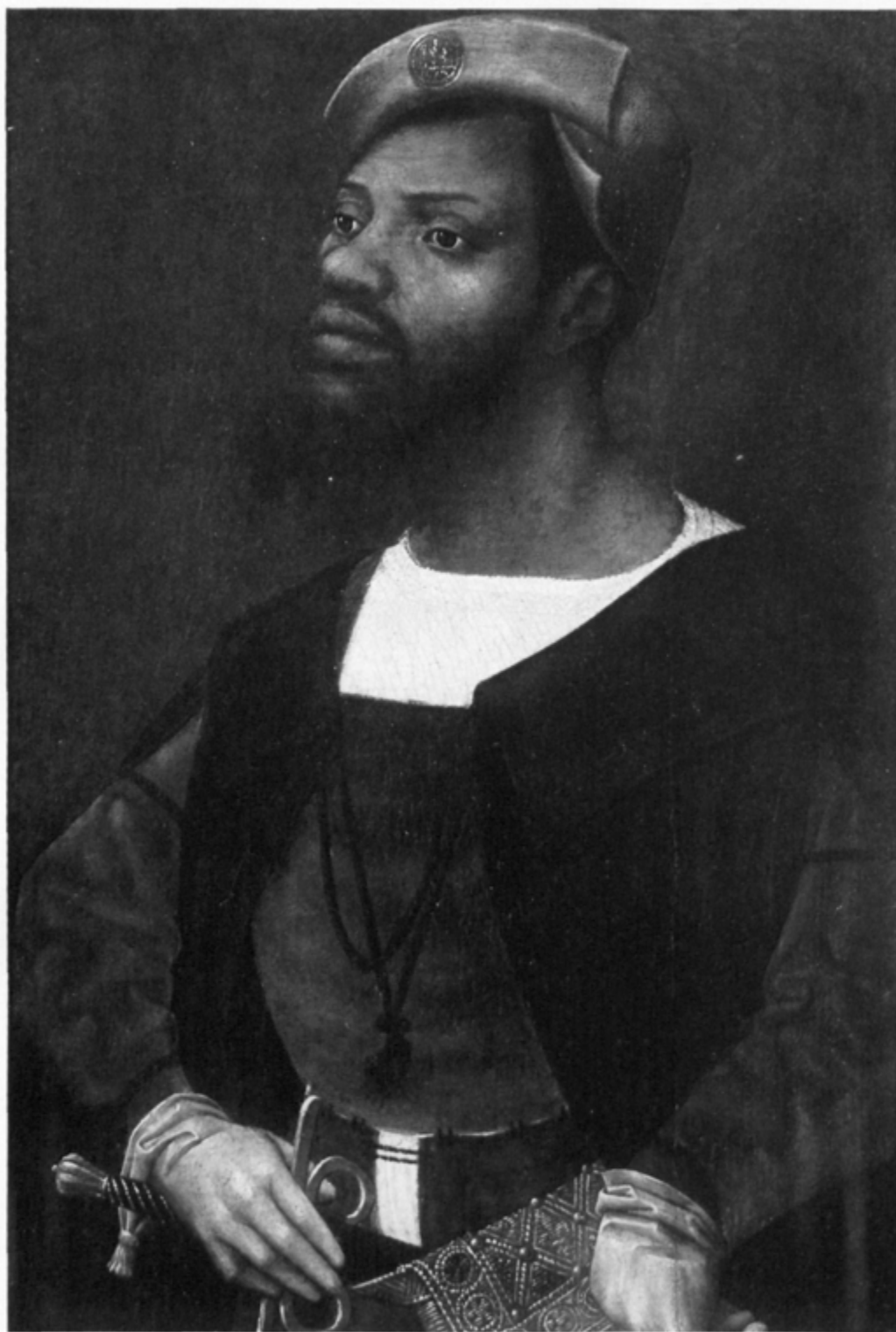


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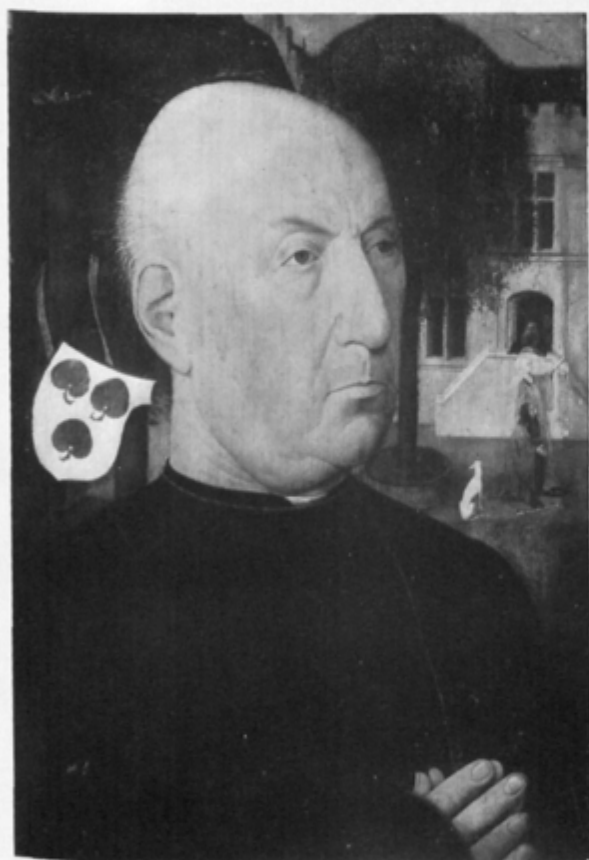
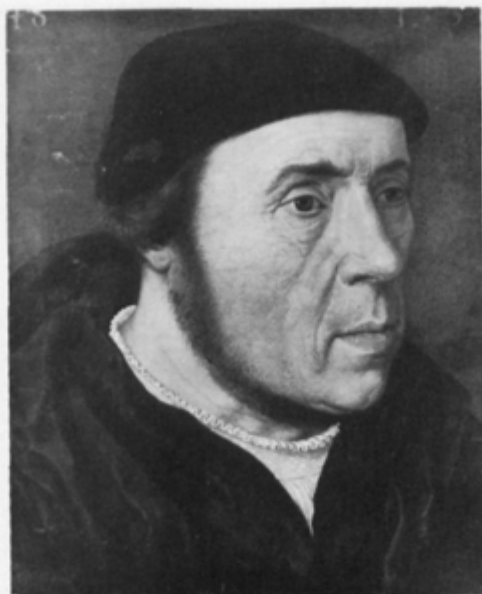


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49. Master of Alkmaar. Altarpiece of the Adoration. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the Mauritshuis, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, The Hague



49. Master of Alkmaar. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Centrepiece. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the Mauritshuis, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, The Hague



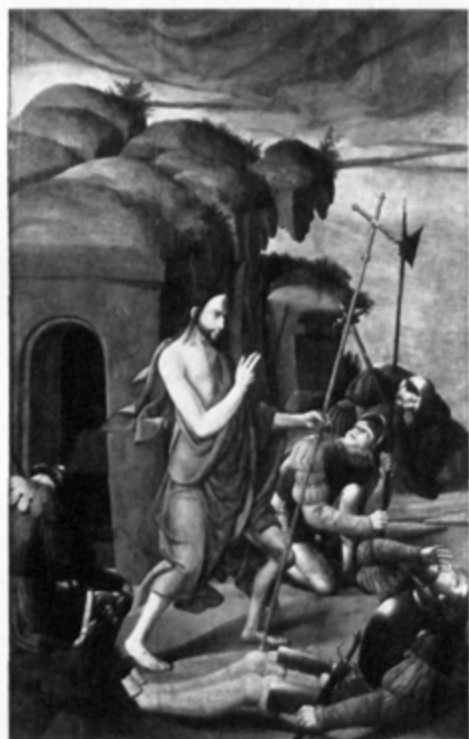
50. Master of Alkmaar. A Pair of Panels, Sts. Cecilia and Margaret, Agatha and Lucia. *England, Private collection*



50. Master of Alkmaar. A Pair of Panels, Sts. Ursula and Godeleva (?), Catherine and Agnes. *London, Art Market (Hallsborough Gallery)*







54. Master of Alkmaar. A Pair of Shutters, The Circumcision, Christ among the Doctors, with Reverses, The Resurrection, Christ Appearing to His Mother. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



55. Master of Alkmaar. The Seven Mercies. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*





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56. Master of Alkmaar. *The Pilgrimage to Emmaus*. *Present location unknown*. 57. Master of Alkmaar. *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Saints*. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 58. Master of Alkmaar. *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. *Present location unknown*



59. Master of Alkmaar. Jan van Egmond. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



59. Master of Alkmaar. Magdalena van Waerdenburg, Jan van Egmond's Wife.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



59 I. Master of Alkmaar (?). Members of the van Naeldwijck Family. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the Townhall of Naaldwijk, and Naaldwijk, Townhall



59 III | 59 II

59 II. Master of Alkmaar (?). *The Death of St. Alexis*. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 59 III. Master of Alkmaar (?). *Portrait of a Woman*. Present location unknown



60. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. *London, National Gallery*



60. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. *London, National Gallery*



60. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shuttters, Christ Carrying the Cross, The Lamentation. *London, National Gallery*



61. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum*



62. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



62. Master of Delft. Altarpiece of the Holy Family, Centrepiece. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



63 | A | 63
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63. Master of Delft. A Pair of Shutters, Donors, with Reverses, St. Jerome. Cologne, Franz Franzen collection. A. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Cologne, Franz Franzen collection



63. Master of Delft. A Pair of Shutters, Donors. Cologne, Franz Franzen collection



64. Master of Delft. The Lamentation. Oxford, *Library of Christ Church*





66 I
66 II | 66 IV

66 I. Master of Delft (?). Allegory on the Vanity of Life. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 66 II. Master of Delft (?). The Crucifixion. *Present location unknown*. 66 IV. Master of Delft (?). Virgin and Child with Sts. Anne, Catherine and Barbara. *Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie*



66 V
66 VI

66 V. Master of Delft (?). Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Switzerland, Private collection.* 66 VI. Master of Delft (?). Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. *Turin, Galleria Sabauda*



67. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece, Elisha at the River Jordan Healing the Captain Naaman. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



67. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece, Elisha at the River Jordan Healing the Captain Naaman, Centrepiece. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



69. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen* (Destroyed)



69. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, Centre-piece. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen* (Destroyed)



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68. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Centrepiece. *Present location unknown.*
70. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. *Utrecht, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum*





71. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum «De Lakenhal»*



71. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum «De Lakenhal»*



71. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters, Abraham's Sacrifice, The Serpent of Brass. Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »



73. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum Basle, Burchardt-Bachofen Collection



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74 | A

74. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum «De Lakenhal»*. A. J. de Cock. The Lamentation. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*. See p. 37



74. C. Engelbrechtsz. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*



75. C. Engelbrechtsz. A Pair of Shutters, Donors. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*



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76. C. Engelbrechtsz. A Pair of Shutters, Christ Shown to the People, The Disrobing of Christ. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 77. C. Engelbrechtsz (?). A Pair of Tondi, Gideon's Prayer, David and Abigail. Florence, Museo Nazionale, Palazzo del Bargello, Carrand Collection



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78. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Casting out of Hagar. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 79. C. Engelbrechtsz. Betrothal of the Virgin. Present location unknown



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81 | 82

80. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ Summoning St. Matthew. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 81. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ in the House of Lazarus. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 82. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ Taking Leave of His Mother. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



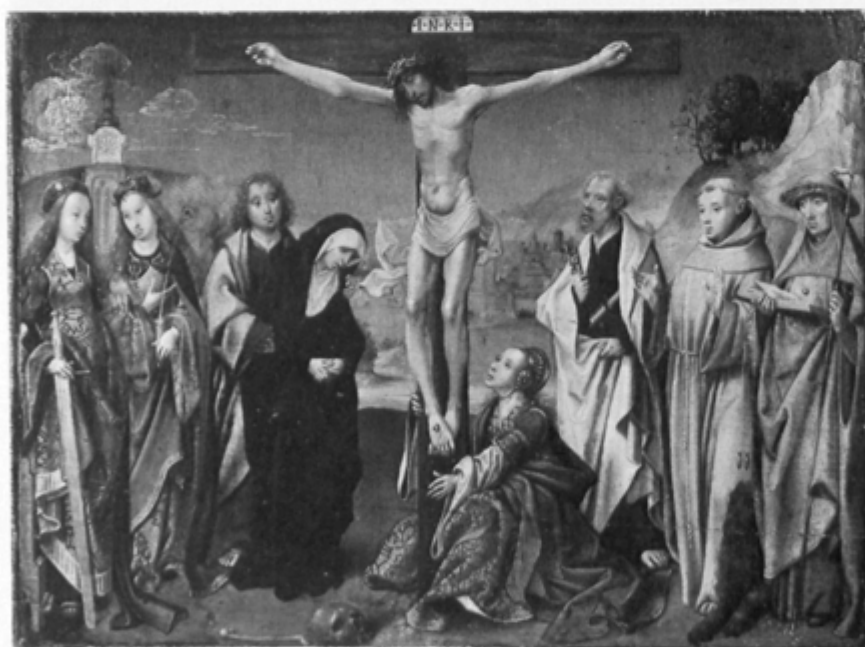
83 | 84
85 | 86

83. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Taking of Christ. *Present location unknown.* 84. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Present location unknown.* 85. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 86. C. Engelbrechtsz (?). Christ Carrying the Cross. *Present location unknown*



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87. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ Nailed to the Cross. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, van Ertborn Collection. 88. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ on the Cross. Present location unknown. 89. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ on the Cross. Stockholm, National Museum



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90. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ on the Cross. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 91. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ on the Cross. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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92
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92. C. Engelbrechtsz. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 93. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Deposition. *Munich, Art Market (J. Böhler)*



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94. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Lamentation. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek. 95. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Lamentation. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum



96. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Lamentation. Ghent, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



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99

98. C. Engelbrechtsz (?). *The Resurrection*. *Present location unknown*. 99. C. Engelbrechtsz. *Christ with St. John the Baptist, Apostles and Heroes of the Old Covenant*. *Present location unknown*. 100. C. Engelbrechtsz. *Virgin and Child with Two Saints*. *Prague, National Gallery*



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101	103

101. C. Engelbrechtsz. St. John the Baptist. *Present location unknown.* 102. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Temptation of St. Anthony. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister.* 103. C. Engelbrechtsz. St. Barbara. *Present location unknown.* 104. C. Engelbrechtsz. St. John and the Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 105. C. Engelbrechtsz. The Magdalene and St. John the Baptist. *Aachen, Suermondt-Museum*





107. C. Engelbrechtsz. Sts. Constantine and Helena. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



109. C. Engelbrechtsz. Portraits of a Couple. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



110. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Adoration. Merion, Penna., Barnes Foundation Museum of Art



110. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Centrepiece. Merion, Penna.,
Barnes Foundation Museum of Art



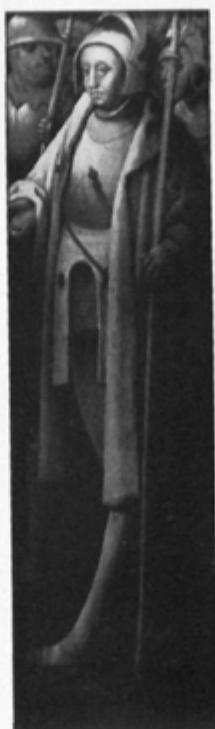
110. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Shutters.
Merion, Penna., Barnes Foundation Museum of Art



111. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Healing of the Blind Man of Jericho. Leningrad, *The Hermitage*



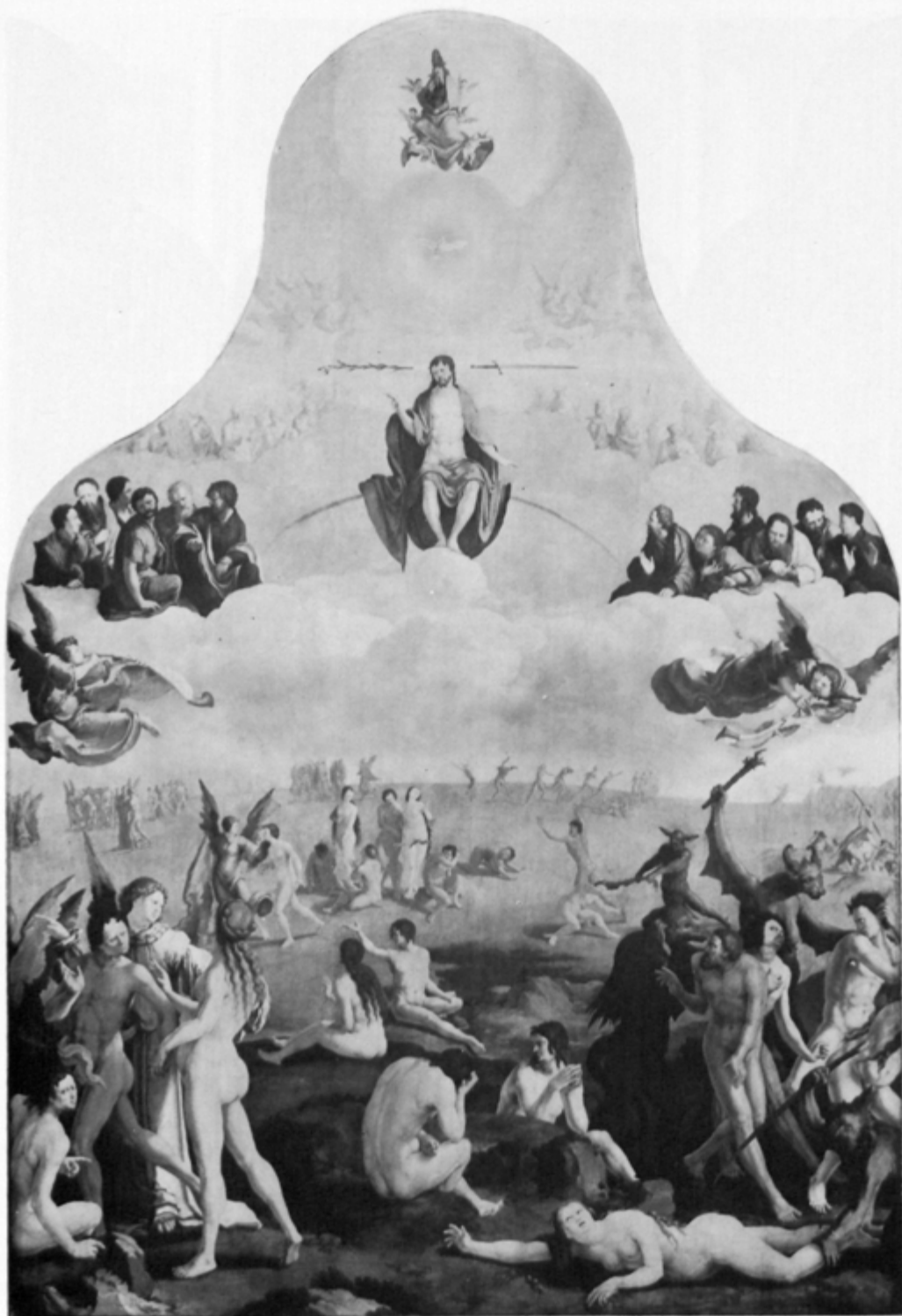
III
III a III. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Healing of the Blind Man of Jericho, Reverses of Shutters. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*. III a. L. van Leyden, replica. Altarpiece of the Healing of the Blind Man of Jericho. *Aachen, Suermondt-Museum*



112. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Last Supper. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum



113. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*



113. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*



113. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Shutters. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*



113. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Reverses of Shutters, Sts. Peter and Paul. Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »



114. L. van Leyden. Diptych, *Virgin and Child, The Magdalene with a Donor*, with Reverse, *The Annunciation*. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



115. L. van Leyden. Lot and His Daughters. Paris, Musée National du Louvre



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168 I | 168 II

116. L. van Leyden. *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*. Boston, Mass., *Museum of Fine Arts, W.K. Richardson Fund*.
 Supp. 168 I. L. van Leyden. *Lot and His Daughters*. Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Supp. 168 II.
 L. van Leyden. *Lot and His Daughters*. Switzerland, *Private collection*



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117. L. van Leyden. *The Scorning of Job*. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Lee Collection. 118. L. van Leyden. *Susanna before the Judge*. Bremen, Kunsthalle (Destroyed)



119. L. van Leyden. Potiphar's Wife Showing Joseph's Robe. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



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120. L. van Leyden. *The Adoration*. Chicago, Art Institute, Mr. and Mrs. A. Ryerson Collection. 121. L. van Leyden. *The Agony in the Garden*. Present location unknown





124. L. van Leyden. *Virgin and Child*. Oslo, National Gallery, Christian Langaard Collection





127. L. van Leyden. *Virgin and Child*. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*





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130. L. van Leyden. St. Andrew. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. 132. L. van Leyden. St. Jerome. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 133. L. van Leyden. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. Present location unknown



131. L. van Leyden. *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



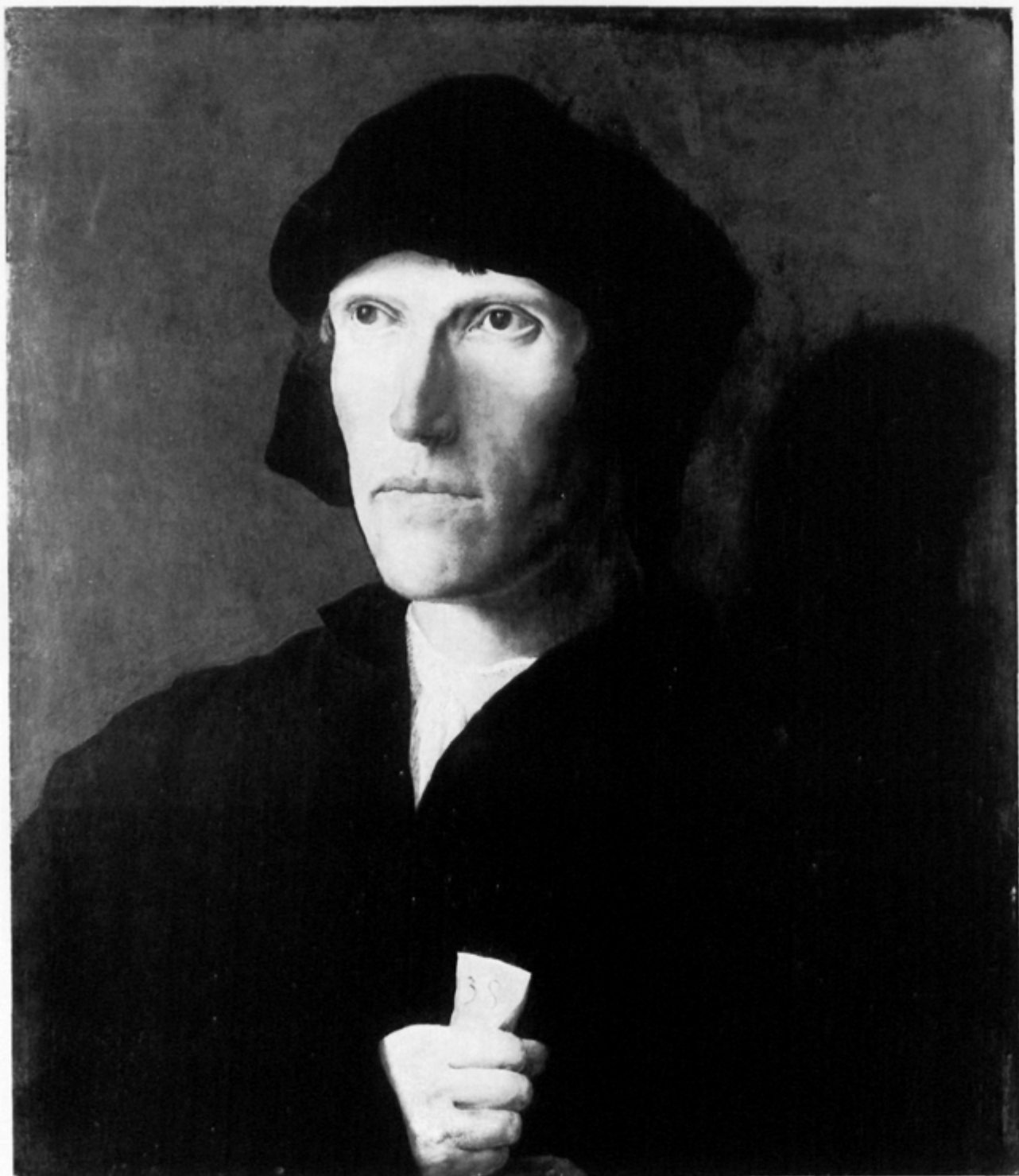
134 | A

134. L. van Leyden. *The Sermon in the Church*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. A. L. van Leyden. Three Panels, *The Legend of St. Sebastian*. Hampton Court, Royal Collections (See No. 134)

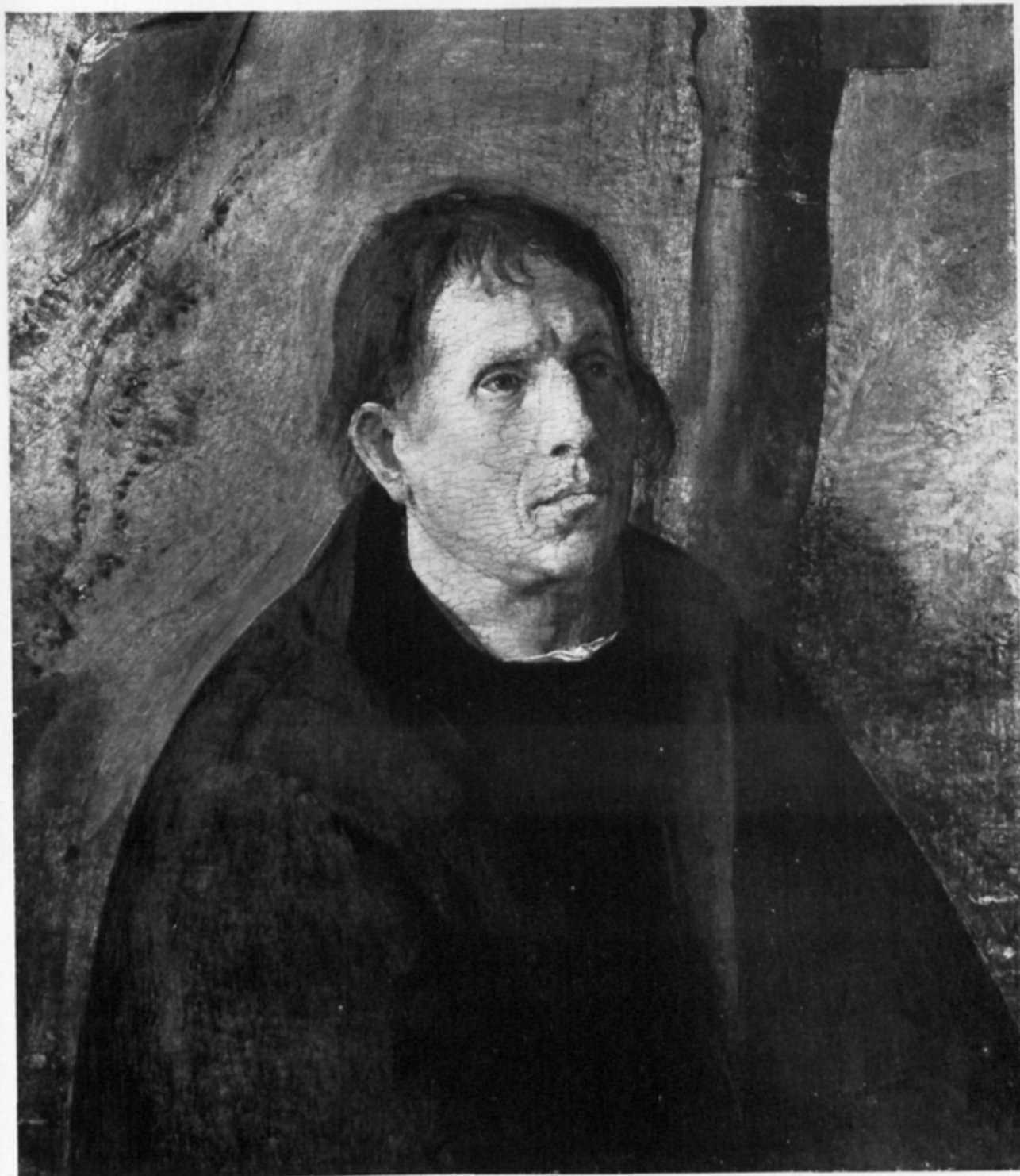


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135. L. van Leyden. Self-portrait. *Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum.* 136. L. van Leyden. Portrait of a Young Man. *Groningen, Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande.* 137. L. van Leyden. Portrait of a Man. *London, Mrs. G.E. Naylor collection*



138. L. van Leyden. Portrait of a Man. *London, National Gallery*



139. L. van Leyden. Portrait of a Man. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*



140. L. van Leyden. *A Game of Chess*. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



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141. L. van Leyden. *The Card Players*. Wilton House, Earl of Pembroke collection.

142. L. van Leyden. *A Game of Cards*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection



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143. L. van Leyden (?). *A Party*. Nantes, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Supp. 172. L. van Leyden. *A Party*. Paris, *Musée National du Louvre*



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Supp. 171

Add. 181. L. van Leyden. *The Card Players*. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.
Supp. 171. L. van Leyden. *The Card Players*. Eindhoven (Netherlands), The Late A.F. Philips collection



145. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. A Pair of Shutters, The Last Supper, The Resurrection. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



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147. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. *The Agony in the Garden*. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 148. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. *Death of the Virgin*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

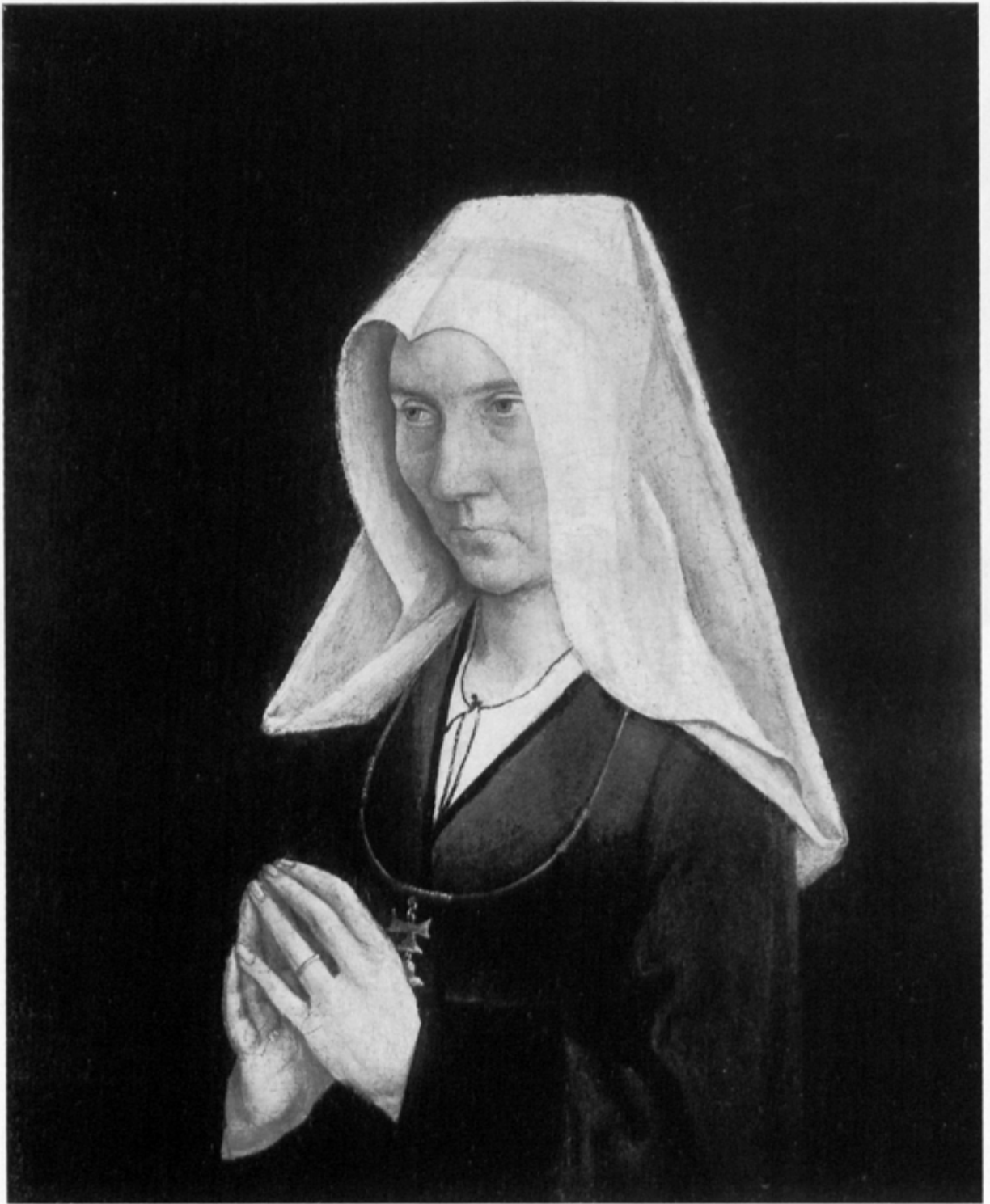


149. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. The Assumption of the Virgin, with Reverse, The Virgin, Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, van Ertborn Collection



150 | 151

150. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. Fragment of a Shutter, Five Donors with a Holy Bishop and St. Peter. *Present location unknown.* 151. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin (?). The Legend of St. George. *Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie*



152. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. Fragment of a Shutter, Portrait of a Woman. *Amsterdam, Mrs. N. Boon-van Leer collection*



153. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. Double Portrait of a Couple. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Supp. 154

Supp. 155

Supp. 154. J. Mostaert. Portraits of a Couple. *Gheel, Church of St. Dymphna*. Supp. 155. J. Mostaert. Portrait of a Woman. *Present location unknown*



Supp. 156
Supp. 157

Supp. 156. J. Mostaert. Portraits of a Couple. *The Hague*, Mrs. L. Thirkow-van Huffel collection. Supp. 157. J. Mostaert. Eve with Four Children. *Williamstown, Mass.*, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute



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Add. 176 |

Add. 176. J. Mostaert. The Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Add. 177. J. Mostaert. Virgin and Child. Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia. Add. 178. J. Mostaert. Christ Shown to the People. St. Louis, Mo., St. Louis Art Museum

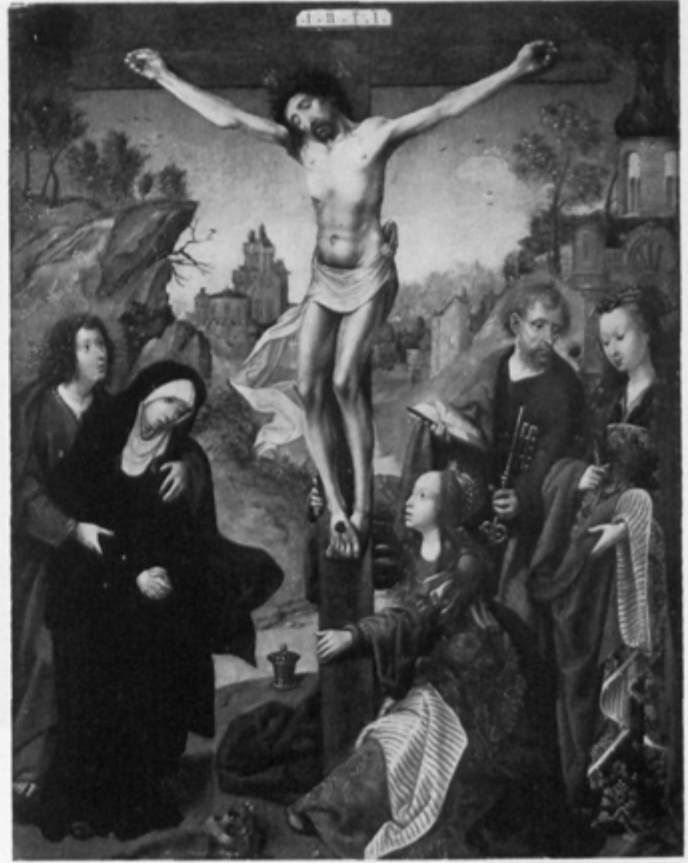


Supp. 158 | Supp. 159
Supp. 160

Supp. 158. Master of Alkmaar. Fragment of a Shutter, Donors. *Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe*. Supp. 159. Master of Alkmaar. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Present location unknown*. Supp. 160. Master of Alkmaar. Virgin and Child. *Mount Kisco, N.Y., Carel Goldschmidt collection*



Supp. 161. Master of Delft. Christ Taking Leave of the Women. Delft, Stedelijk Museum
« Het Prinsenhof », on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague



- Supp. 162 | Supp. 163
Supp. 164 | Supp. 165 | Supp. 166
- Supp. 162. C. Engelbrechtsz. *The Preparations for the Crucifixion*. Present location unknown. Supp. 163. C. E. *Christ on the Cross*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (loan). Supp. 164. C. E. *Portrait of a Man*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Supp. 165. C. E. *Portrait of a Man*. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation. Supp. 166. C. E. Jan van Eden. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



Supp. 167. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Ten Thousand. *Present location unknown*



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	Supp. 173

Supp. 169. L. van Leyden. *Lot and His Daughters*. London, National Gallery. Supp. 170. L. van Leyden. *St. Paul*. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery. Supp. 173. L. van Leyden. *Portrait of a Woman*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Add. 179

Add. 180

Add. 179. L. van Leyden. Altarpiece of the Worship of the Golden Calf. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.* Add. 180. L. van Leyden. The Young Bacchus. *Vienna, Mrs. Anna Payer collection*



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Supp. 175

A | B

Supp. 175. Master of the Amsterdam Death of the Virgin. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown.* A. P. Cornelisz. Kunst. The Sick Nursed. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (See p. 54). B. A. Dürer. Portrait of Lucas van Leyden. Lille, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (See p. 47)

Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Altniederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume xiv.

- i The van Eycks—Petrus Christus
- ii Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle
- iii Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent
- iv Hugo van der Goes
- v Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jerome Bosch
- vi Memlinc and Gerard David
- vii Quentin Massys
- viii Jan Gossart and Bernard van Orley
- ix Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier
- x Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch Masters of the Time
- xi The Antwerp Mannerists—Adriaen Ysenbrant
- xii Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst
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- xiv Pieter Bruegel—General Index

